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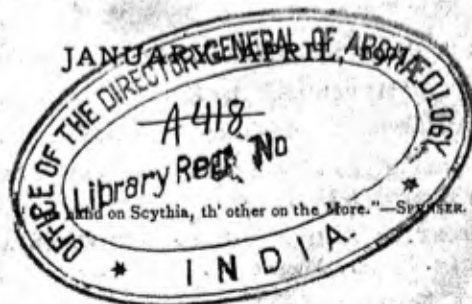
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THE IMPERIAL
AND
Asiatic Quarterly Review,
AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

JANUARY, 1907.

PAN-ISLAMISM AND THE SULTAN OF
TURKEY.

BY PROFESSOR A. VAMBÉRY.

IN the discussion which lately has been raised about the Sultan's right to the title of Khalifa great stress has been laid upon the assumption that an admittedly legal successor of the Prophet may be entitled to appeal to the Mohammedan world, not only in religious, but also in worldly—*i.e.*, political—matters. It is very natural that, in giving credit to such an assertion, the Christian rulers over Mohammedan countries cannot feel very secure, and it regards particularly Great Britain, where the greatest importance is given to this question, to the elucidation of which the following lines have been written.

In examining first the relation between the Khalifa, or the Sultan-Khalifa, and the rest of Mohammedan rulers, we shall find the unmistakable truth that the sphere of influence of the Khalifa never extended beyond the pale of purely spiritual—*i.e.*, religious, matters; that worldly interference has been always excluded; and, in fact, there was no link of a closer political communication between, and still less a sign of supremacy over, the different Mohammedan countries and the Khalifa. The Khalifa at Bagdad had at the zenith of its power enjoyed a good amount of respect and consideration from the Emirs of the Fatimides in Egypt and the Omayyads in Spain, but a political allegiance

was entirely excluded ; and even this respect and consideration lasted only so long as the superior material power and sway was able to exercise its charge over the brother rulers in Islam. This is the case also in our own times, as stated by the learned Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, the Honorary Secretary of the Aligarh College, in his saying : " We " (Mohammedans in India) " call the Sultan a Khalifa : we do so merely to show our respect for the greatest Mussulman King, whose position is rendered still more important by his being the servant of the sacred Harems, the Cāaba." A recent incident has furnished us a still more striking illustration of the correctness of our assertion. During the last spring, when a rumour was current in the Moslem press that the Congress of Religions will be held in Tokyo, and that the Government of the Mikado has issued invitations to the heads of various religions, and also of Islam, it seemed rather curious that this invitation was construed by Moslem writers as the desire of the Japanese to become Mohammedans, and to add the religious halo to their military glory, so much admired by the followers of the Arabian Prophet. History repeats itself, for in this Mohammedan belief we find a pendant to the doings of the Khazar chief Bulan, who, desirous to know the various religions, invited a Christian Bishop, a Rabbi, and a Moslem priest to his Court, and after hearing their discussions, adopted the Jewish religion. A similar discussion took place under the great Akbar in India, and no wonder that the news about the Islamization of Japan has found credit amongst Mohammedans. An animated discussion arose in the Turkish, Arab, Persian, and Tartar papers about this matter, and when the chariness of Sultan Abdul Hamid in nominating a delegate was mentioned, one of the Tartar papers said : " Very natural that the Sultan does not make haste to send a delegate to Japan, for if the Mikado and his people are anxious to be informed about Islam and to join our religion, as we are told, the title of Khalifa would legally fall to the Emperor Mutsu

Hito, as the most powerful and influential ruler in Islam, and Sultan Abdul Hamid would consequently cease to enjoy this prerogative. From this conception it is quite apparent that the title of Khalifa belongs always to such a Mohammedan ruler who occupies the highest position in the Moslem world, who has got the means to defend his co-religionists against foreign aggression, and to whom the latter can turn for help in time of need. Owing to the respect which such a ruler commands, he is looked upon as an arbiter in spiritual matters, and his decision in pending religious questions ought to be, and has been, frequently accepted.

If we consider that the Ottoman Empire having risen in power and influence through its conquests in three parts of the world high above the other Mohammedan countries, we shall find it quite natural that the Sultans of Turkey, particularly since the victorious career of Soliman I. and Selim II., were looked upon as the spiritual leaders of Islam, and as such they exercised also a certain moral and religious sway over the Sunnite Mohammedans. Occupying originally the position of the highest Imam, and adopting the title of *God's Shadow on the Earth* and *Representative of Mohammed*, we must not wonder that the Sultans had tried at a very early period to use their spiritual superiority for material purposes, and to further their political objects in view. In examining the historical reports as well as the official correspondence regarding the relations of the Porte with the various Mohammedan countries, as given in Feridun Bey's "*Munshiat-es-Selatin*" (the Correspondence of the Sultans), we shall see that it was only at the dawn of the political greatness, that Turkey began to enter into relations with her Mohammedan neighbours, without assuming, however, the slightest idea of political superiority. Sultan Orkhan modestly remains within the limits of his rule in Anatolia, whilst his son, Sultan Murad I., elated by his victories in European Turkey, informs Shah Oveis of Persia of his conquest of Adrianople, and later on of his

victories in Philippople, Zagra, Nish, etc., as usual, in a most bombastic style, overladen with all possible poetical eccentricities. The more the Turks had advanced on the path of victory, the more frequent became these war bulletins, couched in high-flowing style and self-glorifying expressions. Sultan Selim had announced his success at the Battle of Tchaldirim, and against Toman Bey of Egypt, to Obeidullah, Khan of Samarkand, to the Khan of the Crimea, and to other coeval Mohammedan princes. Of course, during the reign of Soliman the Magnificent the respective correspondence had steadily increased. The rulers in Central Asia, India, Egypt, Bahrein, and Arabia had unavoidably begun to look with a certain amount of respect upon the Sultan-i-Rum, as the Emperor of Turkey is called even at present in Middle Asia and in North Africa. The interchange of friendly messages and missives has been carried on uninterruptedly till recent times, and if the Sultan of Turkey addressed his missives to Imamkuli, Khan of Bokhara, to the ruling Emir of Morocco, and to Selim Shah (Jehangir) of India, and to other independent Mohammedan princes, the contents of these letters do not betray the slightest sign of a real or contemplated Turkish political superiority over the respective countries. All that can be discovered in these correspondence tends to show that the smaller and less significant States have turned to Constantinople, either for advice in interior troubles or for assistance against the encroachment of a mightier neighbour, in which cases the Sultan had readily offered his intercession, although we are not informed how far the Turkish proposals for the settlement of the dispute have found a willing ear among the quarrelling parties. This diplomatic correspondence of the Porte with the independent Moslem rulers is highly interesting from a scientific point of view, but it cannot serve as an evidence for the political supremacy of the Ottoman Empire in the time of its highest power over the outlying portions of the Moslem world in Asia.

There is no doubt that the Sultans of Turkey, when conscious of their greatness, had always nourished the hope to avail themselves of their reputation in the interest of further conquests in the interior of Asia, and of uniting all Mohammedans under the standard of the Crescent. The existence of such far-reaching schemes is evidenced by the early efforts to attract the attention of Central Asians, Tartars, and Indian Mohammedans towards Constantinople through the foundation of well-provided hospices, such as the Bokhara Tekkesi, Hind Tekkesi, and many other facilities afforded to pilgrims on their passage to the holy places of Arabia. The first historical proof of such an effort dates from the time of Soliman, who had sent out a fleet to conquer India, under the pretext to punish the daring aggression of the infidels (Portuguese) upon Sindh, and simultaneously he had despatched delegates and military instructors to the Khanates of Central Asia for the purpose of instructing the warlike Turks of these regions in military arts, and to prepare the ground for future conquests. When Sidi Ali Reis, his unfortunate admiral, whose fleet the Portuguese had destroyed, returned (1554) through India and Bokhara to Turkey, he met the Aga of the Osmanides and Ahmed Tchaush, the Sultan's envoy, likewise on their way homewards—of course, *re infecta*, for the unruly and headless Turkestanis were not so easily subdued under the iron discipline of the Janissaries. In spite of this and other similar failures, the Turks did not renounce the hope of extending their sway in the interior of Asia, and every opportunity was seized to realize this object in view. Thus we see also in modern times Turkish military teachers sent by Sultan Abdul Medjid to Eastern Turkestan, when the Khokand adventurer Jehangir Khodja succeeded in ousting the Chinese and in establishing his reign in Kashgar. The same happened in the time of Yakub Kushbeghi, who had asked his moral assistance from the Khalifa through a special mission; but the Lieutenant and the two sergeants who went from Constantinople to

Kashgar had likewise to return without the slightest results. As the Sultans of Turkey had always taken great care to advertise, with a flourish of trumpets, their victories over the Christian world to their co-religionists in the interior of Asia, we must not wonder at all that the latter had readily turned in their needs towards the fortunate and powerful brother of faith and race, and the *Sultani Rum* was regarded by them as the greatest king of the world.

Strange to say, nor were these mighty brethren and co-religionists in Turkey reluctant to ask the assistance of the petty rulers of Middle Asia when embroiled with Persia, and when they planned a campaign against the hated Shiites. Even Sultan Selim I., the greatest hero and conqueror on the throne of the Osmanides, did not disdain to ask the co-operation of Obeid Khan, the ruler of Samarkand, in a letter dated Moharram, 920 (1515), against the Persians, emphasizing the urgent necessity to annihilate this dangerous sect of Islam. Murad IV., the conqueror of Bagdad, had likewise appealed to Bokhara, and Ahmed II. had asked the assistance of Subhankuli Khan against the Shûte heretics through a mission headed by a certain Mustafa Tchaush, who was the bearer of valuable presents, consisting of Arab horses, precious arms, and rich silk stuffs. The Sultans of Turkey did all in their power to win over the Mohammedans of Central Asia, and also of India, but to no avail; for Shiite sectarianism, this formidable wedge in the body of Pan-Islam, was not so easily removed, and has, in fact, in all times been the chief impediment to the unification of the Moslem world. It is this schism which acted as a stumbling-block to the Ottoman rulers in their planned supremacy over the whole of Mohammedan Asia.

From the preceding remarks it will become clear that the Sultan of Turkey, however firm and undisputable his right to the title of Khalifa may be, and however strong may be the sympathy and respect of the Mohammedans commanded by this dignity, had up to the present never decreed any

political sway over his co-religionists in foreign countries. It is solely and exclusively in the religious bearing of his character that he is highly respected, and in certain matters his decision is regarded as irrefutable. In this respect I can quote two incidents to which I was an eye-witness during my incognito as a Dervish in Central Asia. The one refers to a discussion which arose as to whether a traveller during the rest in a station should say the *Namazi Kasir* (i.e., the short prayer) or the *Namazi Mekim* (i.e., the prayer in a settled condition). Not being able to come to a decision, one of the discussors turned to me, saying, "Efendi! On your returning home you will inquire of the Khalifa, and send us the answer." The second incident regarded the question whether it is not contradictory to the law to wear a head-gear provided with a screen, since a law forbids the adoption of such a head-gear, together with the waist-cord used by the friars, in allusion to the defence of *Siper and Zunnar* (screen and cord). Here, too, the matter was referred to the practice of the Sultan, whose Moslem subjects are forbidden to wear a hat, and have accordingly adopted the screenless fez, disregarding the inconvenience caused by the rays of the burning sun. Considering the strictly orthodox and fanatic tendencies of the Central Asian theologians, the manners and customs of the Western Mohammedans are not always approved; but, nevertheless, the Sultan-Khalifa has a claim upon unconditional obedience in religious matters, which is rarely disregarded.

Whilst fully admitting, therefore, the legality of these privileges of the Sultans of Turkey as to the spiritual chiefs of Islam, we would certainly make a mistake in assuming that this spiritual privilege had ever entailed or authorized a political or worldly interference in the affairs of other Mohammedan communities. According to the evidence of history, this was never the case; nor could it be, for, despite the important part religion plays in the life of Asiatics, and particularly of Mohammedans, the rulers

and princes of the independent Moslem countries were always careful to draw a line between religious and political matters. Nor would their own subjects have ever consented to give up their national independence, and to allow their destinies to be directed from Constantinople. All that was expected, and occasionally also realized, by the Porte consisted chiefly in the act of a friendly intercession between quarrelling parties, and in using its prestige in the interest of peace. Thus we find Sultan Mohammed IV. addressing a letter, dated Rabi-ul-Akhir, 1059 (1649), to the Mogul Emperor Shahjihan, asking him to make a peaceful arrangement between the Emir of Bokhara and his son, Abdul Aziz, living in constant feud with his parent. History mentions other similar missives. But the Sultans of Turkey had no right to pretend to the other ruler in Islam their superiority, for there is a letter from the Emperor Shahjihan in which he complains of the insufficiency of titles and of the want of due respect paid to him in the letter of the Sultan announcing his accession to the throne, upon which the Sultan of Turkey excuses himself in a letter addressed to the Mogul Emperor, dated Zilkaade, 1066 (1655). In a word, the supremacy of the Sultans of Turkey over the other princes and rulers of the Mohammedan world was always a problematic one, and never went beyond the questions touching religious matters or the relations of friendly co-ordinate neighbours.

Such being the case, it is really to be wondered that in the discussion which has taken place quite recently with regard to the Pan-Islamic movement, great stress should have been laid upon the Sultan Khalifa's power in his capacity as a leader of the whole movement. Above all, it is well to note that this leadership is not a public but rather a clandestine one, and it is quite intelligible when the ruler of the country in such straits as Turkey, anxious to find a means of salvation, clings to a straw and exaggerates the efficiency of this, his last sheet anchor. Knowing as I do the shrewdness of Sultan Abdul Hamid, I doubt whether

he really has placed any confidence upon this very brittle staff, and whether the whole movement is not calculated to intimidate the insufficiently-informed Western world. If the Sultans of Turkey had the power to use their title of a Khalifa and the Pan-Islamic movement in defence against the aggression of Christian Europe, they certainly would have long ago applied it. It never occurred to their mind. On the contrary, Turkey showed readiness to support England in 1857 in the time of need. I remember the social gathering in the summer-house of the Grand Vizier, Reshid Pasha, at Emirghian in the autumn of 1857, when the question was discussed whether the Porte should permit England to enlist soldiers in Turkey to be sent as auxiliaries to India, and where hardly anybody opposed the request of England, which, however, so far as I know, never availed herself of that permission. At all events, it is highly characteristic that the Sultan-Khalifa was ready to assist a Christian Power to suppress a revolution in which Mohammedans took part against their foreign ruler. Taking into account the change which has taken place in recent times in the relations between Turkey and Great Britain, we may take it for granted that Sultan Abdul Hamid would not hesitate a single moment to avail himself of his spiritual position and to give as much trouble as possible to England in India and in Egypt, and, in fact, the discontent in the last-named country is greatly fanned by his official representative. Nor is he slow to cause embarrassment to England elsewhere; but "*Vana sine viribus ira*," says a Latin proverb, and supposing he would continue to incite the Mohammedan subjects against their foreign ruler, his own Christian subjects would furnish ample material for a powerful retaliation. Living under a glass roof, he will twice consider before he throws stones at others. From whatever point of view we look at the question of the Sultan-Khalifa's contemplated aspirations, we are convinced that, by toleration, justice, and liberty—the characteristic of British rule—all subversive

plans of the Sultan will be easily frustrated. Even those Mohammedans who complain of alleged wrongs will take care not to fall from the frying-pan of Christian rule into the fire of Moslem tyranny and maladministration.

Taken all together, it is sad and afflicting that the hitherto peaceful relation between Europe and the Mohammedan Asia has taken such a turn and has pressed upon us the discussion of this question. Not only does it aggravate the task of our standard-bearers in the Moslem world, but it retards the progress and injures the fairly initiated modern life of the Mohammedans themselves. If the younger generation of Mohammedans, anxious to propagate the war-cry of "India for the Indians," and "Egypt for the Egyptians," fancy that their years of apprenticeship are over, and that they can already dispense with Western tutorship, they are grossly mistaken. The turn from an old civilization into a modern one cannot be accomplished in a trice, and the example of Buddhistic Japan cannot stand as an encouragement for the followers of the Arabian Prophet. Of course, there is a term of the period for the latter, too. The time will come, and must come, when the Mohammedans, too, will have progressed so far as to be able to stand on their own feet; but this time has not come yet, and no sincere friend of Islam would like to see a precipitancy and hurried measures leading to disaster. It is particularly the Mohammedans in India who ought to take to heart this humble warning. They are on the best way towards a rejuvenescence of their country. They are the furthest advanced on the path of modern culture amongst their co-religionists in Inner Asia, and I fully agree with Shaikh Abdul Qadir in his concluding remarks in the paper published in this *Review** under the title, "Young India: its Hopes and Aspirations," when he says: "The prospect, on the whole, strikes me to be far from gloomy. There is no height which Young India may not be able to reach with wider education and a greater co-operation

* April, 1906.

between the communities inhabiting the land, especially if those in whose hands God has placed our destinies give us their full sympathy, and encourage the efforts of the people to better their fortunes." Would it not be a pity to obfuscate such a promising horizon, and to endanger a bright future by adopting visionary plans which lead to darkness and ruin ?

INDO-BRITISH TRADE WITH PERSIA.*

BY NAOROZ M. PARVEEZ.

SINCE I received an invitation to prepare this paper on Indo-Persian trade, stirring events have occurred in the dominions of the Shah-in-Shah. Under the influence of clamant demands for constitutional reform—impressed upon his notice by a threatening state of disorder in Teheran—his Imperial Majesty Muzzafer-ed-Din has called together an elective National Council, now sitting at the capital, composed of representatives of various orders and classes from prince to tradesman, to consult on all affairs of State, and to recommend reforms. We are all aware that the Persian interests of Great Britain and India, commercial no less than political, have been retarded by the corrupt and unprogressive character of the Administration. These have had the inevitable result of financial embarrassment, bringing the country under the ascendancy of a rival Power only too ready, for selfish ends, to encourage the spendthrift State to borrow recklessly, and ask for more. The four millions sterling borrowed from Russia have left little or no trace behind in the shape of reproductive public works or more efficient administration. Whether the new National Council will be effective, either in itself, or in the opportunity it will give to some man of statesmanlike gifts to set the country on the path of comparative advance, as "Young Persia" hopes, is a question which time alone can solve. Through her long history Persia has shown remarkable vitality and adaptability, for as Lord Curzon has so graphically pointed out, while other great empires of ancient days have fallen once to rise no more, Persia has fallen and yet risen again repeatedly. With this fact in view we may look with sympathy, if with some dubiety, upon the present definite advance towards better government and a greater

* For discussion on this paper, see report of the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

measure of popular freedom. In any case, we can afford to be complacent; for it seems to me that, whatever policy the National Council may favour, the situation cannot be worse from the point of view of British policy and commerce than it has been in recent years. On the contrary, should the peaceful revolution through which Iran has been passing work out in the desired direction of delivering her from Muscovite domination, and of giving her a stable Government, opportunities would at once present themselves for extending and consolidating our political and commercial interests there. This being the case, our statesmen and people should take stock of the situation, and should be prepared with well-thought plans for the utilization of such opportunities as they arise. In these circumstances the instruction of the public mind on the actual state of affairs, commercially speaking, is most desirable, and I am thankful to your medium for giving me an occasion for contributing my mite thereto, as an extensive traveller in Persia, and as a plain man of business, having the honour to belong to a race which shows men of Iranian blood to be capable still of high achievement, both in business and in civic life.

TRAVELLING IN PERSIA.

My journeys in Persia have not been confined to the well-known and beaten tracks described in the standard works of Lord Curzon, Major Molesworth Sykes, and Mr. Chirol. I have toured round the land from South to North, from East to West, and have gone into out-of-the-way parts where I found it difficult to travel at all, elaborate *bandobast* being required to save one from starvation in the desert from lack of supplies and transport animals. I had to have my own tents, for in many parts—as, for example, between Quetta and Nastarabad—very little rest-house accommodation is available. After leaving Nushki on the way to Seistan the sandy waste of the Helmand Desert, skirting the borders of Afghanistan, has to be crossed for some 500

miles—waterless, treeless, gameless, and shelterless. Here, and in the great central Lut, all is desolation and silence deep as death, unless and until the stir of adventure is introduced by the minatory appearance of picturesque brigands and bandits, swooping down like carrion birds to their prey. The existence of these predatory vagabonds is one of the many obstacles to trade confronting the enterprising merchant in Persia. The blackmail given to these robbers by traders, as the price of allowing their caravans to pass on without spoliation, adds considerably to the cost of transport, and has to be taken into account as a most probable tax upon the goods, especially English or Indian goods.

My longest tour in this part of the world was one in which I travelled, with many windings, from Quetta right round the Shah-in-Shah's dominions to Bushire in the Gulf, running up an aggregate distance of from seven to eight thousand miles. The longest march on a single day was one of eighty-nine miles to reach Teheran, there being no rest-houses, water, or other convenience for camping. I had no escort of any kind—for Persian escorts are not always to be relied upon, being often in league with the bandits. I was on this journey for nearly a year (including, of course, the periods of stay in considerable towns), and I was attacked half a dozen times—viz., between Yezd and Kerman twice, between Yezd and Shiraz twice, between Teheran and Ispahan, and between Ispahan and Yezd. By the Divine mercy and the use of my wits, I escaped every time without any personal injury or loss. I might quite probably have had still more varied experience of the ways of the Afghan-Persian brigands were it not for the kind offices and friendship of able and energetic Consular agents like Major Webb-Ware, Colonel Chenevix-Trench, and Major R. A. E. Benn. Nor must I forget to express my thanks to the then British Minister, Sir Arthur Hardinge, who was most kind and courteous to me during my stay in Teheran. So was my host, Arbab Jamshed, the most influential and enlightened of the Iranian Parsis, whose

election to represent that community on the National Council is a thoroughly well-deserved honour.

There is no need for me to enter into any elaborate description of the country through which I passed. Your readers are aware that some provinces of Persia are almost wholly mountainous, and others are composed chiefly of desert plains; yet there are parts of the empire of exceeding fertility and beauty, particularly the immense valleys between the various ranges of the Kerman mountains, and portions of the provinces of Mazundran, Azerbaijan, Seistan, and Karun. The climate is similarly varied, and it can still be said, as in the days of the ancient historian, "the people perish with cold at one extremity of the country, while they are suffocated with heat at the other." The mean rainfall throughout Persia is very small, and there is little effort to make good the deficiency for purposes of cultivation by means of irrigation, though heaps of ruins attest the architectural skill and laborious enterprise of the ancient Persians in this respect, especially in Seistan. Modern irrigation is carried out by *Karez*s, and, as in British Baluchistan, consists chiefly of subterraneous canals. The waters are shifty, and the process of construction is slow and expensive. Apart from the saline lakes, there is, generally speaking, great scarcity of water in the Shah-in-Shah's dominions, except in the cultivated parts of Seistan, and the Karun valley, where it is, indeed, too abundant.

TRADE FEATURES.

The principal commodities of the empire are rice, cotton, opium, silk, wool, shawls, carpets, dry fruits, feathers, minerals, mules and horses, pearls, ghee, wheat, gums, dyes, etc. But as the greater part of the country is undeveloped and barren, and industrial enterprise is almost non-existent, the balance of foreign trade is necessarily largely against Persia. In other words, the value of her imports is much greater than that of her exports, the former being between five and six millions sterling, and the latter

between three and four millions sterling. The lion's share of this trade is with the Russian bear. Generally speaking, it may be said that in the last few years Persian trade with the British Empire has not even remained at a standstill, but has declined; while that with Russia has increased from 15 to 20 per cent. Leaving the question of international rivalry for subsequent treatment, I may remark that the adverse balance of trade could quickly be wiped out if proper attention was paid to the mineral resources of the country. Such resources abound, especially in the East and North of Persia. Indeed, concessions for the exploitation of this or that mineral are sometimes granted to Persian Court favourites, but they lead to nothing, for official corruption chokes industrial enterprise of this kind in the initial stages. The National Council might well signalize its creation by proposing exhaustive geological and mineralogical surveys by competent and reliable men. The principal imports of the country are tea (the green leaf is preferred), sugar, yarn, cotton and woollen fabrics, beads, gimcracks, glass and metal wares, boots, watches, jewellery, indigo, spices, kerosine oil, etc. The artistic talents of the people have been largely lost in modern times, and hence some industries have perished without being replaced, as in other countries, by manufacturing industries.

And here I would pause in my narrative to give—not at second hand, but from personal knowledge and observation—lists of the various producing and trading centres of the Shah-in-Shah's dominions. The principal ports, I may name, are Bunder Abbas, Bushire, and Mohammarah. The cotton-producing centres are Khorasan, parts of Seistan, Bam, the Karun district, Rafsinjan, Shiraz, Yezd, Kashan, Ispahan, etc. Dyes are made at Yezd, Ispahan, Tabriz, and Rasht. Fruits come from Kerman, Rafsinjan, Yezd, Zaristan, Ispahan, Tabriz, Kazwin, and Meshed. Opium is manufactured at Rafsinjan, Yezd, Shiraz, Ispahan, Hamdan, Meshed, and Seistan. Silks come from Yezd, Kashan, Ispahan, and Meshed. Wool is manufactured in

Kerman, Khorasan, Seistan, and Jiruft. The chief manufacturing centres are Meshed, Resht, Tabriz, Ispahan, Hamdan, Sultanabad, Shiraz, Kerman, Yezd, Kum, Kashan, and Turbut-e-hidre. The important trading centres are Nasratabad, Birjun, Turbut-e-hidre, Meshed, Simnan, Teheran, Resht, Tabriz, Ispahan, Humdan, Kermanshah, Kerman, Bam, Bunder Abbas, Shiraz, Bushire, Mohammarah, Ahrwaz, and Shuster.

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE.

Persia is not likely to be delivered from her state of economic stagnation and decay in our time, unless the National Council is to be regarded as the first step in constitutional reforms profoundly altering the conditions under which the people live. The greatest of all obstacles to trade advancement lies in the character of the Administration, and the conservative prejudice of the priesthood, who exercise enormous influence over the masses. For centuries past the Persian Government has been unjust and corrupt, and this has told unfavourably on the character and virility of the people. I fully concur in the opinion formed by Mr. Gleadowe-Newcomen, expressed in his invaluable report on the British Indian Commercial Mission to South-Eastern Persia, that the people are "poor, lazy, and feckless, though they are distinctly intelligent." From long experience I can say they are vacillating, excitable, and superstitious, and they generally lack honesty and courage. What else could be expected from a people so downtrodden and misgoverned? The Administration can squander freely on luxury, but has no money for reproductive public works or for stimulating in any other way the economic progress of the land. No attempt whatever is made to encourage cultivation or commerce; on the contrary, vast culturable areas remain untilled, because the farmer has no guarantee whatever that he will not be arbitrarily deprived of the fruits of his industry. He knows that in any case the local governor—who frequently

only has a twelve months' tenure of office, commencing and terminating at Naoroz—will wring from him all that he can get. All stimulus for "getting on in the world" is destroyed when the agents of the State, instead of affording protection to the cultivator, themselves swoop down upon him and carry away the best of his harvest. Frequently, when misgovernment does not emasculate and destroy the virtue of courage, its effect is to instil predatory instincts, and hence it is that brigandage abounds in Iran. The only Persians of fine physique I noticed in my travels were the Becktiaris, the Khurds, and the Fars people. These nomads are the scourge of traders, but under a strong and enlightened government their manly qualities would enable them to play no insignificant part in restoring to Persia some measure of her ancient glory. The two former races are of the old pure Iranian stock, while the people of Fars have a considerable admixture of Arab blood. The men of these virile races, who chiefly inhabit the mountains and deserts of Western and Southern Persia, are born soldiers, and though they do not agree among themselves, they are ever ready to make common cause against the foreigner.

DEBT AND IMPROVIDENCE.

The appearance of the Persian people is such that at first sight they might almost be taken to be prosperous. They dress well, and few men in rags are to be seen, except among the poorer rural dwellers, and in the ranks of the professional mendicants. Their standard of living in the matter of food is higher than that of the Indian masses. But the fact is that, unlike the average Indian, they are the reverse of frugal, and they spend up to the full available limit, not only on food and clothing, but also for show, and on any new thing, whether useful or not, which may take their fancy. They do not care for hard work, and, as the literature of the country attests, they are not devoid of the poetical and imaginative faculties. They have no idea of

the value of time, particularly in relation to the payment of their debts. They are even slower in discharging financial obligations than in making up their minds. Instead of persevering with the sale of a particular class of goods, they alternate between one department of trade and another, and it often happens that they owe for articles they have long since ceased to supply. Fickle as they are, they know how to "sit tight" until the patience of the would-be seller is exhausted, and he is last prepared to sell his goods at a loss. The enterprise of the Indian trader, however patient he may be, is paralyzed by the abnormally long credit system. The Upper India Chamber of Commerce lately requested the Government of India to bring to the notice of the British Legation at Teheran the desirability of endeavouring to secure in Persia recognition of the elementary commercial principle that acceptance of a bill of exchange involves payment on the due date. Our representative in Teheran, the *Chargé-d'Affaires*, replied that it would be altogether futile to endeavour to secure recognition of the principle, and he added that careful inquiries should be made by Indian exporters regarding the standing of traders in Persia with whom it was proposed to do business. The suggestion is cold comfort to traders who know by experience that they must wait many months or even years for their money, and that if they endeavour to enforce payment they may find their debtor going to *bast* (the sanctuary of the mosque) to evade payment. The fact is, that there is much dishonesty in the methods of the Persian trader, and it is encouraged not merely by the absence of facilities for legal redress, such as are open to aggrieved creditors in all well-governed countries, but by the recognition of *bast* as a means of immunity from the discharge of rightful claims.

COMMUNICATIONS.

One of the main causes for the non-expansion of our trade with Persia is the absence of good communications,

excepting in the instance of the Russian-made roads of the north, and the navigation of the Karun as far as Ahwaz. For the most part waterways and roads are non-existent. In this sparsely-populated country caravans must travel over many weary leagues of rough and, in many places, wellnigh impassable tracks to bridge the distance they must cover after leaving one town before reaching another. Transport is, consequently, done by pack-animals, and is a slow, costly, and difficult business. The mortality among the pack-animals is very great, and they are often lost in the wild mountain tracks, and the dreary desert stretches. As Mr. Gleadowe-Newcomen remarks: "Goods for the interior are sometimes delayed for months, waiting for pack-animals, or until a sufficient number can be collected to form a large caravan, and thus insure immunity from attack and robbery." His report points out that in so sparsely-populated a country a Government like that of the Shah cannot be expected to find money for great road-building schemes, but it is urged that the main caravan tracts might at least be kept in good order. If roads will not pay, what of railways? An extension of the Quetta-Nushki line to Seistan at the cost of the Indian Exchequer is favoured in some quarters, but such a line through 500 miles of desert could not be profitable, and consequently if it were an Indian State enterprise, it would add to the already great debt of India. A much more feasible project would be a motor-car service between the terminus of our line at Nushki and the important centre of Seistan. In association with an English gentleman, I applied to the Indian Government for a motor-car concession to cover this route, but we were met with a flat refusal. Russia, on the other hand, in addition to making good roads in the North, has obtained concessions from the Persian Government for motor-car services upon them. It need scarcely be said that in such sparsely-populated tracts as along the Nushki-Seistan route the motor speed limit need not be over-moderate to insure the public safety.

RUSSIAN POLICY.

In her competition with us for the trade of Persia, Russia possesses many of the natural advantages on which political economists lay stress. Her territories border the most popular and fertile part of the Iranian table-land, and the seat of the Shah-in-Shah's Government is within easy reach of the Russian frontier. The European highway to Persia lies through the Caspian, and the copious petroleum wells at Baku have given Russia cheap fuel for the commercial fleet plying on that great inland sea, although in this respect strikes on the oil-fields and domestic unrest in Russia in the last few months have caused a considerable, if temporary, set back. The Russian manufacturers have a great advantage in that they cater for a population in Persia whose wants resemble those of a great part of the Russian population. The Persians themselves being unbusinesslike, most of the trade (in Northern Persia at least) has passed into the hands of Armenians who are Russian subjects, enjoying the vigilant protection of their Consuls. The other principal traders are the Persian Parsis and Sikapuri Hindus. Even the currency system works against British and Indian interests. The exports from South-Eastern Persia to India do not suffice to pay for the imports from that dependency, and hence some of these imports have to be paid for in cash. The Persian trader has the Oriental liking for transactions in kind, and delays payment in cash as long as he can. He seriously feels the effect of the least disturbance in exchange. At the same time, as the report of the British Indian Commercial Mission points out, Indian traders fail to get the benefit of the appreciation in the rupee, for they cannot save in bank commission on the return of funds, neither can they make any profit by extensive purchases of Persian products in cheapened markets.

In addition to the geographical and other natural advantages enjoyed by Russian trade, it has the strongest

possible support from its own Government, and in this respect the contrast between our methods and practices and those of the Muscovite is painfully marked. Readers of Mr. Valentine Chirol's striking and informing work on "The Middle East" are familiar with the story of how Russia's political ascendancy at Teheran has been deliberately and systematically acquired. In a word, it is the outcome of diligent, and by no means too scrupulous, effort; of the fears a great military Power on the borders of a decaying and practically defenceless empire, is in a position to inspire; and of the heavy financial obligations to Russia, by which the Shah-in-Shah has given a hostage for the subservience of his country. That subservience is shown in many ways, amongst them being a Customs service, nominally in Belgian hands, but under Russian control; and a tariff specially designed to give the Russian trader or manufacturer an advantage over his British or Indian rival.

THE CONSULAR SERVICE.

In nothing is the difference between Russian and British methods in Persia more clearly exhibited than in respect to the Consular service. So far as numbers go, the strength of our service has been increased somewhat in recent years, though it still falls below our requirements, and also below the corresponding additions made by Russia. But more important than mere numerical increase is improvement in the training, methods, and ideals of our Consuls. The Consuls of Russia and the United States are men who have had commercial training, and in the case of the latter at least the advantage of that training is observable by anyone reading their comprehensive and clear-cut monographs respecting given industries in the countries where they serve. The Russian reports are not so readily available for purposes of comparison, but anyone who has travelled in Persia and kept his eyes and ears open will agree with me that the Russian Consuls are keen and active in the promotion of trade. With an exception

here and there, this is not the case, I regret to say, with the corresponding British officers. They are mostly military men, not only lacking business training, but despising all that relates to commerce. They do not even serve a period of probation and initiation at headquarters, and not infrequently they make serious mistakes owing to their ignorance of Persia and of the ideas and sentiments of her people. In my humble opinion the Consular appointments should ordinarily be held by civilians, and not military men. There is a strong feeling among British traders in favour of the appointment of a well-trained commercial attaché at Teheran, with a peripatetic assistant for watching the Gulf trade. The duality of control—some officers being under the Home Foreign Office, and others under the Indian Government—does not help matters, particularly as the agents of the Home Government are given altogether inadequate allowances in the matter of office establishment and expenses. Writing under a sense of responsibility, the British Indian Commercial Mission did not hesitate to express its conviction that the majority of our Consuls "loathe the name of trade, and look on anyone seeking information as a person to be discouraged, because he seeks that which is, as rule, not available. Commercial intelligence work is usually done in a perfunctory manner, because it generalizes and does not particularize. Exact information regarding markets, prices, freights, etc., the needs and preferences of the people, and the nature of competition likely to be met with, is not as a rule to be had, as it takes trouble to collect." I myself will go even further, and say that there are occasions when our Consuls not only refuse information to British subjects, but treat them with calculated and patent discourtesy. There have been, and there are, a few conspicuous exceptions to this attitude of Consular aloofness from the very interests the Consuls are appointed, nominally at least, to further. But, strange as it may appear, it is only too true that, judging from instances coming under my own notice,

conscientious efforts to assist British commerce seem to actually retard the advancement of the official by whom they are exerted. I have known one or two cases of Consuls, failing to obtain necessary grants for the discharge of their commercial work, expending sums of £2,000 or £3,000 out of their own pockets for the purpose. But superior authority has seemed to frown on their zeal. In one case an official of very high standing, who was working vigorously and spending freely of his means and his strength to assist British commercial interests, was transferred from Persia and given an inferior appointment in India. A possible explanation may be that he was the victim of Russian intrigues, which are as ingenious as they are persistent. Or was it that he was the victim of that stereotyped objection the departments of State in this country seem to have to the subordinate servants of the Crown showing too much zeal in the exercise of their official duties?

INGRATITUDE.

There is, indeed, some reason to fear that the Foreign Office and the Government of India do not receive the most helpful advice from their agents in Persia in regard to proposals for assisting commercial progress. However this may be, we have an example of deliberate discouragement of commercial enterprise, and indeed of public spirit, in the attitude of the Government of India towards the late Commercial Mission to South-Eastern Persia. Mr. Gleadowe-Newcomen, the President, gave up many months of his valuable time, travelled 2,000 miles, mostly on rough tracks, broke a limb, and incurred heavy expenditure out of his own pocket for the purpose of helping forward the trade of British India in a market where it is being more and more ousted by Russian competition. He had no axe of his own to grind, and his frank and suggestive report bears on every page the mark of careful inquiry, penetrating thought, and singleness of purpose. I hold no brief for Mr. Gleadowe-Newcomen (I have not even the pleasure of personal

acquaintance with him), and I merely make these remarks because, as a traveller in Persia, I can understand how much labour the tour must have entailed upon him. The Mission was originally undertaken at the suggestion of Lord Curzon's Government, but not one word of official thanks or acknowledgment has been tendered. On the contrary (after there had been time for the report to be minuted on by the Consular service whose shortcomings it exposed), the Government of India issued a press communique explaining that it was not responsible for the remarks and opinions expressed in the report, "whether as to the prospects of trade or the attitude of the British or Persian officers." The *Times of India*, the best informed of Anglo-Indian journals on Persian, and indeed on all Asiatic matters, justly censured the Government for giving "not a word of thanks, not a single gracious phrase, regarding this prolonged period of successful labour," and said it never remembered to have seen the Government of India placed in so unamiable and ungrateful a light.

BANKING FACILITIES.

This treatment of the Commercial Mission must be taken, I fear, as symptomatic of the lack of genuine Government co-operation with commercial interests in the development of our trade relations with Persia. But I am not so unreasonable as to suggest that the fault is all on one side. Our business men and business houses are much less united in promoting the general advancement of British trade than their Russian contemporaries. Take, for example, the difference between the two chief European banks of Persia. That representative of Russian influence the Banque d'Escompte et des Prets, is connected with the Russian State Bank, and is managed by an official of the Czar's Government. The Imperial Bank of Persia, an English concern, has no direct support from its own Government, nor is this to be expected, for such support would be wholly at variance with our traditional trade

policy. In this, as in some other respects, we cannot attempt to bolster up our trade by adopting the methods of rivals unsuited to the sentiments and ideals of our people. For example, we could not stoop to the practice of spying on the movements of traders from other countries which has been reduced by the Russians in Persia into a regular system. From the moment I entered the country until I arrived at Meshed, I was continually under the eye of Russian spies. But, without adopting any such methods, we can show enterprise and competitive adaptability. The Imperial Bank has a charter from the Shah-in-Shah, but is dependent for its existence more or less on its profits, made in the usual fashion. When Persia required substantial loans a few years ago, the Imperial Bank, having no assistance from the British Government, could not offer terms as favourable as those proposed by Russia, and thus an opportunity for advancing British influence and authority in the country was passed by, Russia being left to reap the benefit of the pecuniary difficulties of the Shah. Yet when every allowance is made for the difference, in the matter of home patronage, between the Russian and the English concern, I think there need not be such great disparity between them as to the facilities afforded to traders. The Banque d'Escompte works as a commission agency, and gives every assistance to Russian subjects, whether possessed of capital or not, to set up business in or trade with Persia. It fulfils the functions of a wholesale warehouse, and is always ready to let the retail trader have current stock of Russian goods. The Imperial Bank gives no corresponding facilities to British subjects. Its methods are conservative, and I must frankly confess that I share the opinion of the Commercial Mission that considerable expansion of British and Indian business might result "if the Imperial Bank of Persia could see its way to be somewhat more accommodating in its methods of transacting business."

A SCHEME OF COLONIZATION.

While many features of the comparison between British and Russian commercial progress and influence in Persia are calculated to occasion dissatisfaction, there is one circumstance which I have for years past regarded as most favourable to British interests. I refer to the presence in Persia of a hardy remnant of the enlightened race and faith which held sway there for so many centuries until the Sassanian dynasty was swept away by the sword of Islam. The Iranian Parsis have only in recent years secured some measure of civic and religious liberty, culminating in their representation in the new Parliament, and they are aware that this is largely due to the influence of the Power under whose ægis their brethren in India have made such progress in enlightenment and wealth. The lot of the Iranian Parsis still requires amelioration, and it would be advantageous to them, and still more advantageous to Persia and its Government, if, with the benevolent support of the British Power, they could be organized into a colony for the economic regeneration of Seistan. They would there be within easy access of the chief land route into India, and could do much to build up a substantial interchange of commodities between the two Empires. It cannot be questioned that the Iranian Parsis, with their national reputation for enterprise, intelligence, and integrity, together with their undoubted loyalty to the Government of the Shah, would be better fitted than any other Persian race to restore to Seistan something, at least, of its ancient populousness, wealth, and prosperity. The Russians recognise the sterling characteristics of the Zoroastrians, and have, I know, offered them strong inducements to colonize some of the northern parts of Persia. The process of colonization in Seistan, I quite recognise, must be gradual. As a start, I would suggest that a number of these people should be placed in possession of a small tract of, say, 10,000 acres, and should undertake agricultural experiments, with

the co-operation of some of their Indian co-religionists. A large proportion of Persian trade is conducted by Parsis ; they are admitted to be the most successful agriculturists in the country, and some of them are employed by the Persian nobility as agents and managers to administer their estates. Many of them migrate to India, but under the more favourable conditions a colony in the land of their birth would supply, they would be likely to remain and establish new industries.

As to the suitability of Seistan for the purposes of colonization, high authority can be cited. In the paper he read last winter before the Royal Geographical Society, Sir Henry McMahon, late British Commissioner for the Seistan Boundary Commission, pointed out that the sparsely-populated state of the province and the discomforts of life there are due to the triumph of chaos over civilization. Nature has, as she always does in such cases, wreaked her vengeance on the country. "The extraordinary fertility of the soil, even under present conditions," he said, "makes it a country of enormous latent wealth and vast possibilities. Its geographical position and great natural resources, both in grain and cattle, render it a place of great strategic, political, and commercial importance. If anyone doubts this, let him study the extraordinary efforts our Russian rivals have made and are making to forestall us in this country."

BRITISH POLICY.

Much more could be said, did time permit, on many questions of practical interest relevant to the subject on which I have been writing. From an imperial no less than a commercial point of view, that subject is of the greatest interest and significance, particularly now that on the one hand the leaven of reform is working in Persia, and on the other the Baghdad Railway, already in course of construction, is certain sooner or later to become an accomplished fact. Persian commerce will then be of world-wide importance, and it behoves Great Britain, with her

vast Asiatic responsibilities, to consolidate her trade and influence in the country by practical measures, placing them as far as possible beyond the risks of vital injury to which they are now exposed, not only by the machinations of rival Powers, but also by the lack of a reasonable measure of Government assistance to, and co-operation with, commercial enterprise. And the very first step in such co-operation must be the reform and improvement of the Consular service. It is high time for Great Britain to come to a working arrangement with Russia to save Persia from the interference of a third Power, Germany, which is seeking by every possible means, including the establishment of a bank, to gain influence there, so that she may have her say in the settlement of outstanding questions of the gravest international importance. The two great Asiatic Powers have great mutual interests to conserve in Persia, and they cannot allow a third party to interfere on insufficient pretexts. They must make common cause against the intruder. In this connection we may regard with great satisfaction the announcement made a few days ago that England and Russia are making a joint advance of £400,000 to the Shah's Government. This may be the first practical step in an Anglo-Russian understanding in relation to Persia. The future of that country is a matter of the deepest interest to Great Britain, and in regard to our position there the time has fully come to act immediately and decisively. We now have great opportunities that may never recur ; and it may be said of Great Britain in relation to these vital interests, "Awake, arise ; or be for ever fallen."

THE MYSORE STATE : A MODEL OF INDIAN ADMINISTRATION.

BY SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.

It has always been an axiom of British policy that the British administration of India exists, mainly and in the first place, in the interests and for the sake of the peoples of India; and while it may be admitted—for humanity is fallible, and never perfect—that there have been occasions when this great principle has been lost sight of, on the whole the verdict of the world undoubtedly is that the Government of India has nobly fulfilled its beneficent duty. On a recent occasion in the House of Commons, when an 'umble Uriah Heep on the Radical benches suggested that our British government of India had been a failure, Mr. John Morley, with righteous indignation, exclaimed: "I don't believe a word of it!" Now everyone who knows anything of British politics—including Irish politics—knows perfectly well that there is not a Radical in England more stalwart than Mr. Morley, and certainly no straighter one. He was an earnest and logical Home Ruler—far above all suspicion of "finding salvation" for the sake of the Liberal loaves and fishes—at a time when all his Radical colleagues were coercionists. He has never been afraid of being called a Little Englander, if that meant simply excessive devotion to little England, and not a morbid desire to foul little England's nest in the Colonies or India. In these circumstances to call him a "Whig"—as Mr. C. J. O'Donnell did in a famous letter—who needs pressure from Indian agitators to induce him to do his public duty is a statement so grotesque as to be worthy only of ridicule.

Mr. Morley has announced his opinion, as a Liberal Secretary of State for India, that the recent advance of large sections of the Indian community along the road of

education and enlightenment—when considered in connection with the many manifestations we have seen, especially during the tour of the Prince and Princess of Wales, of the loyalty of the Indian Princes and of the great mass of the Indian peoples, and with the firm establishment of the *Pax Britannica*—has convinced him that the time has come when a simultaneous advance may properly be made in the direction of bringing those enlightened sections of the community more into touch with our local administration. He has told us that Lord Minto is heartily in accord with him in that opinion, and that in India an important committee has been appointed, with that veteran administrator Sir Arundel Arundel at its head, to consider the “how” and the “when” of these measures of reform.

Every true well-wisher of India will watch these deliberations with the keenest interest and sympathy ; and it is the object of this paper to point out that Mysore, the most enlightened and the most progressive of our Feudatory States, has, in its recent development, furnished us with a model that British India may well emulate.

Of the great and far-reaching measures that India owes to the genius of the late Lord Lytton, many were so bitterly assailed by the fierce party malignity of the time, and so distorted and misrepresented by his unscrupulous political opponents, that even yet the world has never rendered that great Viceroy his due. The peaceful security of our northern frontier and the friendliness of our relations with the ruler of the Afghan State are practically entirely due to his scientific frontier policy—and that was maligned and ridiculed in Midlothian as Jingoism. The ablest Indian-born journalists, like Mr. Malabari and the late Raja Kristodas Pal, have borne witness to the fact that all that is best in the native Indian press, both English and vernacular, was rendered possible by Lord Lytton's liberal policy of freely communicating official information to them direct, and of circulating frank official explanations of Government measures and motives—and yet that policy

was travestied in the House of Commons as "a Russian censorship."

In regard to one section only of his great Indian achievements—that wherein he reconstructed, on the broadest and most generous lines, the relations between the Imperial Power and the Feudatory Sovereigns of India—has some justice been done to his memory of late years; and that is perhaps due to the fact that those achievements have found a most able and sympathetic *vates sacer* in his accomplished daughter, Lady Betty Balfour. The inception of that brilliant and successful policy was marked by the assumption of the Imperial title by our late beloved Queen Victoria, and the splendid pageantry of the Delhi Assemblage. But its crown and chief glory was the "Rendition" of Mysore—the re-establishment in full sovereignty, subordinate only to the Imperial throne, of the ancient Hindu dynasty that had been ousted nearly a century before by a successful soldier of fortune.

The Rendition policy was keenly criticised at the time. It was undoubtedly a great experiment in the direction of one of Lord Lytton's favourite maxims, "The truest Conservatism is to trust the people." For about fifty years this great and rich Province had been under direct British management, and for all practical purposes a part of British India. In the genial valleys of its cool uplands the coffee industry had thriven so well that there had sprung up a considerable colony of English planters, who, with their wives and families, and those of the British officers who were the legacy of the British administration, formed an important social community. Croakers predicted serious and continued friction between this community and the local Government when the Imperial Power ordained that that local Government should be a real and effective Indian sovereignty under the Empire, wielded by the rightful heir of the ancient Hindu dynasty, and administered by the great officers of State nominated by His Highness himself, with the approval of the Government of India, and chosen

from among the statesmen of Southern India. In the result none of the sinister predictions of the pessimists were fulfilled. Thanks very much to the statesmanship and sagacity of the late Maharaja—and the present Maharaja is following closely and worthily in the footsteps of his illustrious father—the machinery of the administration has worked from first to last with a precision and a smoothness, and, at the same time, with a boldness and an enterprise, that have rivalled the best achievements of the best-ruled States of India or Europe. Nothing could be more cordial than the relations which have always subsisted between the Maharaja and his officers and people on the one side, and the successive British Residents and the British community on the other. Both the late and the present Maharaja have had the good fortune—or should we not rather say the wisdom and insight?—to select for their successive Prime Ministers Indian statesmen who have shown most conclusively that the Indian races possess administrative faculties and genius not inferior to those of the English, the Japanese, or any other people. And both the Mysore Government, and the people of Mysore in general, have been enormously benefited and enriched by the cordiality of which I have spoken, that has all along subsisted between the Maharaja and his officers and the British community—for owing to the confidence thereby engendered, the capital and the technical skill of the West have at all times freely flowed into this enterprising and up-to-date State*—and the combination of wise and liberal administration, abundant capital and technical skill, cheap and efficient labour, and excellent climate and other environments, has insured success for every enterprise, and a high standard of pros-

* Just at the moment of writing, a great and unforeseen calamity has befallen the industries of Mysore, in common with those of all Southern India, in the suspension of the great banking-house of Arbuthnot and Co. The catastrophe is a very serious one, and may cause a temporary ebbing of this tide of prosperity. But all the conditions of industry in the State are so sound that it is very certain that the set-back will not be for long, if at all.

perity for the whole community. In succession, coffee-planting, gold-mining, and electrical engineering have added to the resources of the State. And now, since the last issue of this *Review*, the Dewan of Mysore, in the singularly able and powerful address with which he opened the Proceedings of the Representative Assembly in October, has told us of a new industry that seems likely to rival, or even eclipse, the best results of those which have preceded it. Mr. Madhava Rao had the good fortune to be able, in the first address he has delivered to the Mysore Parliament, to announce the successful introduction into the State of the production of rubber, that commercial product which is clearly destined to take the most prominent place in the economics of the future. It has been shown that the soil and climate of Mysore are better suited to the extensive growth of this invaluable commodity than those of any other country where it has been grown, and the possibilities of the industry are obviously immense.

The many advantages of the spirit of cordiality and good-feeling that reigns in Mysore were pleasantly brought out in the speech of the Hon. Mr. Fraser, the British Resident, at the Dasara State Banquet on October 1, in which he proposed the health of His Highness the Maharaja. After speaking of the royal splendour of the festivities that had celebrated the Maharaja's birthday week last June, Mr. Fraser went on to say :

"No less interesting, I think, is it to witness a Dasara in Mysore, the national festival of the State, when Prince and people meet in the celebration of their time-honoured ceremonials, and the holiday terminates with the sittings of that unique institution, the Representative Assembly, for an interchange of views between the Government and His Highness's subjects. Nowhere else in India is the Dasara kept up with greater elaborateness than in Mysore, and His Highness's hold on the affections of all classes of

his subjects is due doubtless not more to his liberal readiness to adopt changes where they are wise than to his conservative maintenance of the good old customs which are dear to the hearts of the people generally. I am sure we are, all of us, very much obliged to the Maharaja for allowing us to witness something of these Dasara ceremonies, so full of symbolical meaning, and these Durbars and processions conducted with all the dignity and picturesqueness of old-world pageantry. In recent years the prevalence of plague in the city of Mysore has sadly interfered with the Dasara festivities. Anxieties sat heavily upon the Maharaja and his subjects alike; and the usual gathering of multitudes from all parts of the State had to be prohibited. Since last year, however, the wise measures taken by His Highness's Government for the permanent improvement of the city have practically banished plague—never, we hope, to return—and this year the joyousness of the occasion has been enhanced by the promise of a bumper season in the State, on the flourishing condition of which, as disclosed by the Dewan's statement in the Representative Assembly this morning, both the Maharaja and his Minister, Mr. Madhava Rao, deserve the fullest congratulation. May the best of good fortune during the next twelve months attend His Highness, the toast of whose health I now ask you to drink, with the most cordial thanks for his charming hospitality."

To this very hearty and appropriate speech His Highness the Maharaja responded in equally cordial terms, in a speech remarkable alike for its grace and its thoughtfulness. After speaking of the lighter aspects of the festival, His Highness went on to say :

"The presence of the Dewan and other officers, and of the representatives of the planting and mining interests, will remind you of the more serious side of

the Dasara season. For myself and my officers it is a time, so to speak, of stock-taking, during which we make up accounts for the past year and consider our plans for the new. The Dewan has to-day rendered his accounts, and you will, I think, share my satisfaction at the favourable statement that he has been able to present. After two years of scarcity there is every indication of a plentiful harvest, with all that that means to my people and to those to whom their care is entrusted. To many of you here, as to myself, Mr. Madhava Rao is a very old and good friend, and I therefore ask you to join with me in congratulating him on the auspicious beginning of his Dewanship, and in wishing him a prosperous and successful term of office."

The unaffected sincerity and grace of these kind words of the Maharaja show the admirable good-feeling that subsists between the Prince and the representatives of the Imperial Power on the one side, and between His Highness and his Ministers and people on the other.

Since the last meeting of the Representative Assembly in 1905, Mr. Madhava Rao, C.I.E. — some of whose achievements in Travancore were applauded in the July, 1905, number of this *Review*—had been specially selected by His Highness the Maharaja, with the approval of the Viceroy, to occupy the most responsible post in His Highness's Government, in succession to such eminent statesmen as the late Mr. Rangacharlu, the late Sir Sheshadri Iyer, and Sir Krishna Murti. Mr. Madhava Rao was brought from Travancore with the triumph fresh upon him of the successful establishment in that very Conservative State of a Popular Assembly much on the lines of the Mysore Assembly. But his chief laurels had been won in Mysore itself, where, before his appointment to the Travancore Dewanship, he had served the Maharaja's government for thirty-four years, in nearly all the highest offices

of State. During the minority of His Highness the Maharaja, from 1898 to 1902, Mr. Madhava Rao was a member of the Council of Regency; and in the year 1900 he had the high honour of being decorated with the Kaisar-i-Hind medal. In 1902, when the Maharaja was formally installed, amid the rejoicing of the people of Mysore, in the full exercise of his sovereign rights on attaining majority, Mr. Madhava Rao was appointed a member of the Executive Council and Revenue Commissioner. The vast fund of practical experience and knowledge acquired by a powerful and active mind during the long years of service in these exalted posts, and subsequently as Prime Minister of the Maharaja of Travancore, has enabled Mr. Madhava Rao instantly to rise to the full height of his responsibilities as Dewan of Mysore. And at the first meeting of the Mysore Representative Assembly, that was held in October for the twenty-fifth time, he was thus able to put before the Assembly—and through them before the world at large—a most luminous and instructive account, both of his own very able and successful stewardship, and of the astonishing progress and development of the State under purely Indian rule, conducted on Western lines, and aided by the patriotic and absolutely disinterested advice of highly-trained British administrators.

Here, then, we get an object-lesson, on a sufficiently large and important scale, that merits the fullest attention and consideration from Mr. Morley, Lord Minto, Sir Arundel Arundel, and the Reforms Committee, of the lines on which, actual experience has proved, administrative reform in British India may safely and profitably advance. We see that, under the beneficent sovereignty of His Highness the Maharaja—a potentate who occupies, in Feudatory India, much the same exalted position as that of a Governor or Lieutenant-Governor in British India—the executive is greatly assisted, supported, and strengthened by the Representative Assembly, an Advisory Council that is chosen by popular election, and representative of every

class in the State, and every district. We find the Dewan, as head of His Highness's Executive Government, annually laying before this local Parliament a full and careful account, not only of the details of executive action throughout the year, but also of the policy, the motives, and the intentions of His Highness's Government. And we find this great officer of State deriving, from the intelligent and independent results of the discussions of this representative body, not only approval or criticism of the past, but also the most useful and valuable hints for the future. I venture to suggest that if we had such an Advisory Council in every province, or better, perhaps, in every division of British India, the Government would be immensely strengthened and benefited by its deliberations.

Suppose, for example, that there had existed, two years ago, representative bodies of this character in all the greater divisions of North-Eastern India—in Bengal proper, in Assam, in Behar, in Chota Nagpur, in the Central Provinces, and in Orissa. And let us imagine that, when the supremely difficult and thorny question of the partition of the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal came on the tapis, and pressed for early and sagacious settlement, Lord Curzon, before even thinking of any plan, had directed the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and the Chief Commissioners of Assam and the Central Provinces to convene these various Representative Assemblies, and frankly ask them each and all to discuss the various possible solutions of this problem with fairness and moderation. I venture to say that, judging from what we see in Mysore, the free and independent expression of local public opinion obtained in this way would have proved of infinite use in obtaining a satisfactory solution, convenient to the Government and agreeable to the people.

It is quite true that Lord Curzon did the next best thing—indeed, the best possible in existing circumstances—for he freely collected every scrap of official opinion on the subject, and also took into consultation, as far as possible,

all existing non-official organizations. But he had no means whatever of co-ordinating the crude mass of non-official opinion that was presented to him, and consequently it may be doubted whether it had that weight with him which it certainly would have had if presented in the authoritative form of discussions in regularly constituted and responsible Representative Assemblies. It is quite unnecessary to reopen the thorny question in this place, or, indeed, in any other place, for all the most trustworthy public opinion, Indian as well as English, applauds the decision of Lord Minto and Mr. Morley to accept the inexorable logic of the Accomplished Fact. But it is permissible to point out, before any other similarly difficult question crops up—any question, that is to say, of which the best solution obviously depends on what is most convenient and most agreeable to the greatest number of people—what an immense advantage it would be, both to the Viceroy and to the Secretary of State, if they had, in every part of the Indian Empire, trustworthy advisory councils such as that possessed by His Highness the Maharaja, and by his Prime Minister, in the Representative Assembly of Mysore.

It is only necessary to study the address of Mr. Madhava Rao, and the published reports of the proceedings of last October's Representative Assembly, to be convinced of its political value alike to the Government, to the people of Mysore, and to the Empire at large. The *Calcutta Englishman*, the great daily journal that occupies in the metropolis of India much the same independent and impartial position as that of the *Times* in London, has always shown a warm and sympathetic interest in the popular Government of the Mysore State, and this is what it says of the gathering of 1906 :

“The Mysore Representative Assembly, as the Dewan says, has now been in existence some twenty-five years, and it has amply justified itself. It has proved itself a sympathetic and effective medium

between Government and people, and is now firmly established as an indispensable feature of the administration. The policy of the State in placing its affairs frankly before the people's representatives is an admirable and successful one. It brings the administration in touch with the real needs of the people, and the value of this is illustrated in the progress made by the Mysore Government. Schemes such as co-operative societies and agricultural banks are freely experimented with ; the State encourages the building of railways and enterprise in agriculture ; and the whole tone of the administration is sympathetically business-like. Though last year Mysore passed through some trials, the State faced them with equanimity, and the prospects for the future look excellent. Indians and Europeans who have settled in Mysore have the greatest confidence in an administration which is so admirably adapted to the resources and requirements of the country."

In the proceedings of this year's Representative Assembly, the discussion on the third subject proposed for consideration — "A Legislative Council for Mysore" — and the sensible remarks in which His Excellency the Dewan wound up that discussion, indicated very usefully the broad difference between the functions of a Representative Assembly and a Legislative Council. Mr. Madhava Rao was by no means unsympathetic in his reception of the proposal for the establishment of a Legislative Council for Mysore ; but he pointed out that it would in no way affect the usefulness or the dignity of the Representative Assembly. For, inasmuch as the functions of the latter are of an advisory character, so as to prepare the way for legislation and to supply the material for wise enactments, it obviously follows that its discussions, being of a more tentative nature than those of a Legislative Council, will always be far more independent, and in the long-run far more valuable.

One of the most noticeable of the many advantages of this popular form of administration is the stimulus that it undoubtedly gives to productive enterprises, both Indian and European. It is a most interesting and significant fact that is brought out in Mr. Madhava Rao's remarks on the progress of the great mining industry, that out of the twenty-five prospecting licenses that were issued by the Mysore Government during the past year, no fewer than eleven, or very nearly half the total number, were granted to purely Indian capitalists. This is as it should be. The late Mr. Tata, a true Indian patriot, was never weary of exhorting his fellow-countrymen to a loyal and friendly emulation of the methods of European enterprise; and it is quite certain that the vast undeveloped resources of the country can never be adequately exploited—for European capital can hardly do more than scratch the surface—until the wealthy nobles and zemindars and merchants among our Indian fellow-subjects have taken this lesson to heart.

Now let us observe the wise and liberal steps taken by the Mysore Government to encourage this movement. In the development of the mining industry, the State officers of the Geological Survey, as in British India, are naturally the pioneers. They have surveyed and mapped out the chief gold-bearing districts, and located some of the richest reefs, not only in the Kolar district, where the industry has long been well established, but also in the Arsikere *taluk* and in the districts of Chitaldrug, Tumkur, and elsewhere. During the past year attention has been prominently directed to manganese, chrome, magnesite, and other minerals, which had been located by the Geological Survey—also mica, asbestos, and green quartzite. And to one of the companies, formed by purely Indian capitalists, that are prospecting for chrome and manganese, the Geological Survey department has been permitted by the Dewan to lend the services of a geological apprentice. Thus in Mysore science and practical work go hand in hand. Both

in Shimoga and in Tumkur active operations in connection with manganese and chrome are in full swing, and corundum also is worked to some extent. During the year the output of the gold-mines was no less than 595,291 ounces of bar-gold, valued at the splendid sum of £2,274,786; and the royalties paid to the Government—by no means a heavy toll on such a rich return—amounted to £113,736. I can remember when the late Mr. David Lavelle took out two or three British officers—I think General Beresford was one of them—from Bangalore to Kolar, to show them quartz-reefs that he believed to be gold-bearing! and that was the beginning of the industry that now brings in over 2½ millions sterling every year! So, too, when I was the guest of His Highness the late Maharaja in the early nineties in Mysore city, the late Sir Sheshadri Iyer, then Dewan, asked me what I thought of the idea of getting electric power out of the Cauvery Falls; last year the power scheme realized a gross revenue of over 16 lakhs!

But what has been done with the gold-mining industry and with electricity in Mysore is probably a small matter compared with the future of the rubber industry, which has captivated the far-seeing imagination of the present Dewan. All well-wishers of India will hope that this enterprise will prove as successful as seems likely to be the case. And anyhow, all will agree, after careful study of Mr. Madhava Rao's address, that a more alert, progressive, and up-to-date administration does not exist than the Maharaja's Government of Mysore.

THE ASSOCIATION OF INDIANS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.*

BY THEODORE MORISON.

It seems to me that the present time is particularly well suited for the discussion of new policies with regard to the administration of India, because those for whom I write are composed to a large extent of men who have actually guided the machinery of the Government of India, and who are therefore in a position to say from practical experience whether a particular scheme will work or fail to work. For the suggestions that I am going to make, I particularly wish to invite that expert criticism, not from any presumptuous confidence that my proposals will pass unscathed through such an ordeal, but because I think that nothing can be so disastrous to the cause of liberal progress as for its advocates to be committed to an impractical scheme. I feel that the time has come when those who desire to see a cautious expansion of Indian liberties should bring their proposals to the front, because, for want of any such alternative, a line of progress may be chosen which, in my opinion, would lead straight to disaster.

The direction in which it is generally thought most probable that some modification of the present form of government may be expected is in the direction indicated by the Hon. Mr. Gokhale in his presidential address to the Indian National Congress last year. Now, I am myself anxious to see the people of India associated more largely with the control of their own affairs, but I do not think that Mr. Gokhale's proposals are a wise way of compassing that end, nor do I, in fact, believe that they would eventually attain the object which he desires. Mr. Gokhale's proposal is, in brief, to have twelve out of the twenty-five members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council chosen by election. Two of these twelve elected members would be, he anticipates,

* For discussion on this paper, see report of the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

Europeans, the other ten would be Indians; and in the absence of safeguards for the representation of minorities, they would be representative of the Congress party. The Congress has always claimed to play the part of a constitutional Opposition, and if it were represented in the Imperial Legislative Council by ten members, we may presume that its representatives would carry forward the policy which their party has always pursued. The effect, therefore, of the change which Mr. Gokhale advocates would be the instalment of a permanent Opposition in the machinery of Indian legislation. That is a frank imitation of the practice of Parliamentary Governments, but it is to be introduced into the constitution of an absolute Government without making in that Government the modifications without which a constitutional Opposition appears to me fraught with danger. I do not understand how you can derive any benefit from the criticism of an Opposition unless you are prepared to face the eventuality that that Opposition shall at some date come into power. My reason is this: An Opposition exists to oppose the Ministry in power; it is driven by the law of its being to criticise the measures proposed by Government; it must always seek, by every legitimate means, to depreciate and belittle the administration of the opposite party. I do not wish to imply that the Opposition of the Congress would always be factious; I am assuming only that it would play the same part as a patriotic Opposition does in England or in any European country; and certainly, from the evidence of which we can judge, the Indian Opposition has never shown an inclination to insist upon a higher standard than that. What, then, judged by English standards, should be the conduct of an Opposition? If the Government initiates legislation of which it approves, it is not bound by any parliamentary tradition to give that measure noisy or demonstrative support; it merely ceases to oppose, and the measure is passed quietly. All demonstration is reserved for the occasions upon which the Opposition differs from the Government, and then the Opposition

may legitimately use every argument for discrediting the Ministry. In order to show that it, the Opposition, is in the right and the Government in the wrong, it will have articles written in the party press, speeches made at public meetings, and resolutions passed all expressing in emphatic language that the action of the Government is ill-advised, reckless, extravagant, unpatriotic, and certain to bring evils of all sorts upon the country. The constitutional practice of an Opposition, in fact, is to be silent upon the merits and noisy about the demerits of the Ministers in power. By the very definition of its functions, an Opposition has no concern with the popularity of the Government ; no obligation rests upon it to defend or strengthen the Ministry. The result of this prolonged cannonade of hostile criticism is that the Government is gradually discredited ; it loses the confidence of the country : and in Parliamentary constitutions provision is made for this change in public sentiment. When the Government has been made sufficiently unpopular, the Opposition steps automatically into its place, and attempts to justify its claim to be able to conduct the affairs of the State better than its predecessors. All the leaders of the Opposition have this pleasing eventuality constantly in mind ; they are sobered in Opposition by the reflection that they will some day be in power themselves, and that they will be placed in a very awkward position if they make charges or advance claims which they are not able to substantiate when they are responsible Ministers. The essence of the Parliamentary system appears, in fact, to be that the Opposition may some day become the Ministry, and the Ministry be sent into Opposition ; and our comparison of the oscillations of electoral favour to the swing of a pendulum seems to be a recognition of the fact that no Government can retain popularity which is exposed to a constant fire of hostile criticism. Now, contrast this with the situation which it is proposed to create in India. You are to have an Opposition which is free to criticise, but which can never come in to power ; you are going to expose

the Ministry to organized attacks in the Council, and yet deny it the chance of vacating office. The Government in India is never to be able to challenge its opponents to show that they can do better ; it may never say to its critics : " Well, come and sit here, and show us that famines can be prevented ; try the effect yourselves of reducing the military power of India to that of Persia, from which any predatory neighbour can carve the slice it likes."

I recognise frankly that a free press and the right of public meeting do actually place the Government of India in this awkward position of being criticised without being able to retort in the only effective way upon its critics. But by erecting a regular Opposition in the machinery of the constitution, the difficulties of the situation will be enormously increased. The criticism of the Opposition will be given an importance and an authority which it does not possess at present. The Opposition will be placed, as it were, on a height, and its attacks will be delivered in full view of the people. The Government, which is to be placed in a position which no Ministry in England can support for more than two terms of Parliament, is to have no party organization to help it, no press to fight its battles, no speakers to address public meetings on its behalf. The arrangement seems to me to be one which provides for the systematic generation of ill-will against the Government, but takes no care for allaying the dissatisfaction so created. It appears to me to be a contrivance for generating steam without providing safety-valves.

I do not wish, however, to delay you longer with mere criticism which is at best barren and irritating. I have only said so much because I wish to show that the line of advance which is generally thought to be least dangerous is, in my opinion, likely to lead to disaster. But because I think a particular line of advance mistaken, I do not at all hold the opinion that there should be no advance at all. On the contrary, I have every sympathy with the demand of educated Indians for a larger share in the control of

public affairs. My only qualification to that statement is that I am in sympathy only with such extensions of Indian liberty as would strengthen the bonds of the Empire, and that I am strongly opposed to any modifications of the present system which have a contrary tendency. But I do not believe that the admission of Indians to a larger share in the government of their own country would necessarily have the effect of loosening the bonds of Empire; and I for one am quite prepared to subscribe to the ideal which Mr. Gokhale said was entertained by the majority of educated Indians, the ideal, namely, that India should some day take her place beside the self-governing colonies as an autonomous unit of the British Empire. But I need not explain to you here at any length how little the antecedents of India have prepared her for self-government. Before self-government can be possible the political education of the people of India must have been carried on for a long while; and the political education of a people is a slow matter, and as yet it has not been begun. I do not mean to say that all idea of self-government is to be postponed until the masses have received a political education; that would be to postpone the whole question till the Greek Calends; but I do mean that the political education of even that comparatively small class which has any opinion upon politics at all must be carried much farther than it has yet gone. I have myself taken part in what is really a popular movement in India, and I must say plainly that the political temper—what I might even call the civic temper—is not a strong factor in Indian life. In politics it is not intelligence that is the first requisite—of that there is abundance among the middle classes of India—but what I have called the civic temper, the power of subordinating personal and selfish considerations to a public cause. It is this power of patriotism, of sacrificing personal comfort and vanity and ambition for a national object, which has enabled the Japanese to endure such crushing taxation and to support an army which is more than twice as great as all India

could raise in war-time. The history of the public movements of India is evidence that this civic spirit is not strong ; and I do not know, when we consider of how many races the people of India is composed, and what have been their political antecedents, that this need surprise or dishearten us. What I consider to be the great need is that this civic spirit should be strengthened, or, in other words, that the political education of the people of India should be definitely and consciously undertaken. For this purpose I consider that municipal self-government is the most apt instrument. Municipalities are to liberty, if I may translate Tocqueville freely, what primary schools are to learning : they introduce the people to popular institutions and teach them the use of them. I frankly recognise that the result of an extension of local self-government would probably not be an improvement in the lighting or sanitation of the towns, nor am I convinced that there would everywhere be an increase in the amount spent on education. But it is by the use of power, and even by the misuse of power, that political education is acquired ; and as I think that the political education of the people of India is a great and important end, I believe it would be worth the cost of some deterioration in the condition of Indian towns.

But I will not labour this question of local self-government any more, because there is, I believe, a consensus of opinion that it is by the extension of municipal autonomy that the political education of the people must be approached. What I have to urge is something more heterodox than that. The ambitions of the educated classes which, I again repeat, appear to me to be inevitable, natural and legitimate, will not be satisfied with any mere extension of local autonomy. They wish to feel that they are not relegated to the position of a subordinate people ; they wish for an assurance that Indians can rise by ability and integrity and loyalty to the highest position to which any subject of King Edward can rise. People who have always been accustomed to absolute government cannot and do not

expect that every man should rise to the control of the State; that is as impossible here as in India, but they desire to know that they are not debarred from it by the accident of their birth. Englishmen sometimes explain away Indian aspirations by saying that their political leaders only want posts and places of emolument; that is, I venture to say, a somewhat ungenerous way of putting it, but even so put it does not seem to me an exorbitant or unreasonable demand. I think that there is not, as a matter of fact, any sordid or selfish motive at the back of this ambition; they feel, as Mr. Gokhale said, that they ought to be able to rise to the full stature of their manhood, and that this can only be measured by their attaining positions of great trust and responsibility.

I think that this ambition might be gratified under an absolute form of government without any risk to the Empire. It might be gratified by admitting Indians to the higher posts in the Civil Service of India. But I should like to put that sentiment which has often been expressed by the Congress into the definite form of a concrete proposal. I should like to see one province or Chief Commissionership manned from top to bottom by Indians. I should suggest, in the first place, that one particular area be selected for this experiment; and when this proposal was first made some years ago, I suggested that the Berars should be the area chosen. I think that it would be a suitable field for such an experiment because it does not contain any centres of population which present problems peculiarly embarrassing to an Indian Lieutenant-Governor or Chief Commissioner—such, for instance, as the towns with a large unofficial European population. But if care were taken not to complicate the question by the introduction of unnecessary difficulties of this sort, I believe that there are several areas in India which would offer a suitable field for this experiment. The suggestion to set apart one particular province is made for two reasons: firstly, because I believe in cautious advance and in conducting political experiments upon a

small scale where the interests jeopardized are comparatively unimportant; and secondly, because I think that this plan affords the only guarantee that Indians will assuredly and without doubt be placed in charge of these positions of command. If some general order were issued saying that Indians were to be promoted to the higher positions throughout India, there is great probability either of their not being appointed because an English officer had superior claims, or of an Indian being appointed solely on account of his birth, to the detriment of the Service and to the disadvantage of abler men; either of these contingencies would produce disappointment. The proposal to place one province in the hands of Indians in the Civil Service does not, of course, mean that the existing English civilians should be immediately displaced. It would obviously be impossible to find Indians with the necessary experience of Secretariat work to take their places at once; all that I urge is that there should be a steady infusion of Indians into the lower grades who would at length and in the course of time replace the English officers by promotion. No doubt the process might be accelerated by transfers. There are several Indians, I believe, now acting as collectors in charge of districts; these, if transferred to the remodelled province, would be competent to take up the higher administrative work in a comparatively short time; but in any case I suppose that something like ten years would have to elapse before an Indian Lieutenant-Governor or Chief Commissioner were at the head of the administration.

It is not necessary, I imagine, for me to elaborate the proposal any further, for the majority of those I am addressing will readily understand the extent and the meaning of the change I suggest. I have heard before now that it is wholly impracticable and out of the question, but I have never been able to understand why. It does not appear to have any of the dangers attaching to it which I see very clearly in the proposal to create a regular Opposition, whose function shall be to discredit the Government

of India. It would be a generous concession to the ambitions of the educated class, but it would not weaken the power of the central authority in the estimation of a fair. There is no doubt that an Indian Lieutenant-Governor and an Indian Secretariat would carry out the wishes of the supreme Government just as loyally as any of the Lieutenant-Governors and Secretariats now in existence. But though the Government of the King-Emperor will not be weakened by it, the proposed change will, I believe, be welcomed as a great and generous recognition of the claims of our Indian fellow-subjects. When I spoke upon the subject to a prominent Indian leader, he assured me that if such a concession were made, he for one would give up all agitation for five years, and would be ready to trust to the generous intentions of a Government that would make such a concession. The way in which certain organs in the Press have been horrified at the suggestion makes me think that it would generally be felt as signal and dramatic extension of Indian privileges; but yet it is a change which does not involve any alteration in the constitution of the Indian Government. And unprecedented as such a proposal sounds, it is not really so important or so momentous to the people involved as was the restoration of Mysore to the Maharaja. In the present case there is no talk of altering the methods of administration; there will be the same check upon individual officials, the same subordination of all officers to the law, and the same limits of taxation; the people will not have the reasonable ground of complaint which the inhabitants of Mysore had when they were transferred from the precisely limited control of a bureaucracy to the arbitrary power of the Maharaja. That there may be some deterioration in the efficiency of administration I am not prepared to deny; that is a contingency which is not certain, but which should be recognised honestly at the outset. But that deterioration in the administration would not be so signal as altogether to outweigh the political

advantages which might reasonably be expected to accrue ; and the administration, even if not up to the highest standard of the Civil Service, would be greatly superior to the administration in one of the feudatory states. The officers would all be much more carefully chosen ; they would be the pick of the Indians in Government service, not incompetent intriguers for Court favour. They would have the same system to administer, and the same standard to guide them as prevails in British India ; and they would, moreover, be constantly inspected, checked, and guided by the supreme Government. Some difference there might be between the administration in this province and the rest of British India, as there is nowadays a difference between the administration of two different districts ; but it would be constantly noted, pulled up, and prevented from growing worse, which is not the case in the feudatory states. If the change which I propose were made, what would be the advantages of it ? In the first place, I conceive that there would no longer be any excuse for saying that the memorable proclamation of the Queen in 1858 had been interpreted in a narrow and pettifogging manner ; the word of the promises then made would have been kept, not only to the ear, but to the spirit. Secondly, I believe that the tone of public discussion would be raised to a higher level were there in Indian society a few men who could speak upon questions of State policy with the knowledge and authority derived from having held the highest offices in the Government. At present, a great deal of the criticism levelled at the Government of India is misdirected and misinformed, because there is no one in Indian society who is conversant with the routine of the higher offices. Lastly, I believe that the concession to Indians of such a share of controlling power as I have indicated would be interpreted by the moderate men, who are, after all, the great majority of the educated class, as a proof that England had no intention of relegating them always to the inferior status of a conquered

people. The extremists, of course, we should not conciliate; but it is not perhaps over-sanguine to anticipate that we should discredit them in the eyes of their countrymen. If a spirit of goodwill and co-operation between Englishmen and the moderates of Indian politics could be evoked, there would be greater hope of conducting the political education of the Indian people by means of municipal self-government to a successful issue.

THE "INDIAN BUDGET DEBATE FOR 1906."

BY GENERAL J. F. FISCHER, R.E.

By the general consent of almost all concerned, Mr. Morley's speech in introducing this subject in the House of Commons in July last was that of a great statesman who takes a broad view of Indian affairs. There are, however, one or two points referred to in the debate to which it is not easy to subscribe—viz., that the land revenue of India is not a tax or burden on the agricultural community at all, and that the railways have conferred "incalculable benefits" on the country, though an expert appointed by the Government itself has reported that the freight charges on these lines for passengers and goods were more than 80 per cent. *too high* for the industrial condition of the population in India.

Sir H. Fowler declared in the debate, "there was no land tax in India," and said its land revenue stood on precisely the same footing as the *rent* of land in England, etc. His colleague in the Cabinet, Mr. Asquith, said in a late speech that the land tenure and its taxation in England *both* required to be reformed! How India benefits by its land rent being on the same footing as the land revenue in England is not very apparent when two such great authorities contradict each other in the same Cabinet.

Whilst this statement was made in the House by Sir H. Fowler, and the Secretary of State for India appears to have agreed with him in this matter, it is rather strange to find that only one month previously a very different description of land tenure and its taxation in India was publicly given in a periodical in England, and which is very much more accurate in general than is usually published at home on Indian agriculture, and this we

say after more than half a century's experience in that country in dealing with its agricultural industry.

In the *Nineteenth Century Review* for June, 1906, there is an article entitled "Possibilities of Peasant Ownership in Sussex," in which the author writes as follows (relating to Indian land revenue systems): "A study which I made many years ago of the agricultural condition of India, where the system of State ownership is carried to its extreme results, has convinced me that of all the fallacies of reform this is *the most hopeless of good*. In India we see one sole universal landlord—the State, like all States deeply in debt and in constant want of money—unable, except here and there, to devote any capital to improvements, unwilling to remit rent to tenants in arrears, and raising the assessment at short intervals wherever the value of the land has been improved, *however little, by the occupier's labour*. It is, in fact, a shameless rack-renter, with the result that its tenants are, of all tenants, *the poorest in the world*. The spectacle presented by the starving naked Indian ryots is a complete answer to land nationalization as a philanthropic scheme. The Indian state is, moreover, a universal absentee landlord, and, like all absentees, without bowels of compassion. Its collecting agents are not allowed to have bowels, being promoted and commended *not* according to the prosperity of the district they administer, *but* according to the revenue they raise. They are in the eyes of the peasantry mere engines of authority, constantly changing as their advancement hurries them from post to post, and so intangible; the ministers of an unseen implacable fiscal power, pledged to severity, unable if they would to spare them, impersonal, unapproachable, whose names even they seldom learn to know. The State, then, in a word, is of all landlords the worst, as the State tenant is of all tenants the least enviable."

So much for the relation of landlord and tenant in India. The picture is a true one, for it has prevailed in all ages

when the State has claimed to be the sole owner of the land by arbitrary power; and it is worse than useless to say the land revenue of India is no tax or burden on the people. The State claims to have a right to a certain portion of the *produce* of the land, and knows nothing at all about rent as a *surplus after* all expenses of cultivation have been defrayed.

Before proceeding further we will add a remark of the above author which is of the greatest interest in the matter of the cultivation of the land. He says: "But it is an *essential condition* to success that a good soil should be joined to *very easy access to a really good market.*"

The *essential condition* is what Adam Smith laid down as a fundamental principle in the matter of production from the land more than a century ago. In book v., chap. i., p. 313, he says: "In China, besides in Hindustan and in several other governments of Asia, the revenue of the Sovereign arises almost altogether from a land tax or land rent, which *rises or falls* with the rise and fall of the annual *produce* of the land. The great interest of the Sovereign, therefore, *his revenue*, is in such countries of necessity and immediately connected with the cultivation of the land, with the greatness of its produce, and *with the value of its produce*; but in order to render that produce both as *great and as valuable as possible*, it is necessary to *procure to it as extensive a market as possible*, and consequently to establish the freest, the easiest, and the *least expensive communication between all the ports of the country*, which can be done only by means of the best roads and the best navigable canals."

In the same spirit J. S. Mill says: "Land may be inferior either in fertility *or in situation*. The one requires a greater proportional amount of labour for growing the produce, the other for *carrying it to market.*" In other words, there are only two possible methods by which the produce of the earth can be made as great and as valuable as possible, and neither of these methods have ever found

any existence in any of the systems of collecting land revenue in India in any age. Hence it is, agriculture has never made any progress in the country, and the revenue from the land has been the greatest burden or tax on its population, whose condition *now is* as miserably poor as it has always been; for, unfortunately, we have adopted and continued these same crude principles on the plea we ought not to interfere with their ancient methods. It is, therefore, very fallacious to suppose the great industry of India, agriculture, has improved under our rule.

The latest authority on the same subject that I am aware of, Professor Marshall, lays down much the same methods for obtaining the greatest and most valuable results from the cultivation of the land. In his "Principles of Economics," vol. i., p. 235, he says: "The surplus produce may, *under certain conditions*, become the rent which the owner of the land enacts from the tenants for its use; *but*, as we shall see hereafter, the full rent of a farm in an old country is made up of three elements: *the first* being due to the value of the soil as it was made by Nature; *the second* to improvements made in it by man; and *the third*, which is often *the most important of all*, to a growth of a dense and rich population, and to *facilities of communication* by public roads, railroads, etc."

As the second and third elements mentioned by Professor Marshall have little or no existence in any of the systems of collecting land revenue in India, and the land in general is as Nature made it, it is difficult to understand whence any surplus produce can arise as rent, and what Sir H. Fowler means when he says, "There is no land-tax in India; that the land revenue of India stood on precisely the same footing as the rent of land in England," and advises us to read J. S. Mill and Mr. Fawcett, whose manual I have not got at hand. The former, in his "Principles of Political Economy," writes as follows of this country: "In India, for example, and other Asiatic communities *similarly* constituted, the ryots, or peasant farmers,

are not regarded as tenants at will, nor even as tenants by virtue of a lease. In most villages there are, indeed, some ryots on *this precarious footing*, consisting of those, or the descendants of those, who have settled in the place at a known and comparatively recent period; but all who are looked upon as descendants are representatives of the original inhabitants, and even many more tenants of ancient date are thought entitled to retain their lands as long as they pay the customary rents. What those customary rents are, or ought to be, has, indeed, in most cases become a matter of obscurity, usurpation, tyranny, and foreign conquest having to a great degree obliterated the evidence of them; but when an old and purely Hindoo principality falls under the dominion of the British Government, or the management of its affairs, and when the details of the revenue system come to be inquired into, it is usually found that, though the demands of the great landholders, the State, have been swelled by *fiscal rapacity* until all limit is practically lost sight of, it has yet been thought necessary to have a distinct name, and a separate pretext for such increase of *exaction*; so that the demand has sometimes come to consist of thirty or forty different items in addition to the *nominal rent*. This circuitous mode of increasing the payments assuredly would not have been resorted to if there had been an acknowledged right in the landlord to increase the rent; its adoption is a proof that there was once an effective limitation, a real customary rent, and that the understood rights of the ryot to the land, so long as he paid rent according to custom, was at some time or other more than nominal. The British Government of India always simplifies the tenure by consolidating the various assessments into one, thus making the rent nominally as well as really an *arbitrary thing*, or at least a matter of specific agreement; but it scrupulously respects the rights of the ryot to the land, though until the reforms of the present generation (reforms even now only partially carried into effect) *it seldom left him much more than a*

bare subsistence." Mill adds in a note : " The ancient law books of the Hindoos mention in some cases one-sixth, in others one-fourth, of the *produce* as a proper rent ; but there is no evidence that the rates laid down in those books were at any period of history really acted upon."

Now, according to Sir H. Fowler's own authority, Mill, the ryot, under the British Government even, has seldom left to him more than a bare subsistence, and we know that in unfavourable seasons, where he cannot pay his assessment, this is held as arrears of land revenue, to be recovered from him when the seasons are more favourable, and in the meantime he has to support himself, his family, and his live-stock in any way he can, and pay up a double assessment whenever it can be exacted from him. To say the land revenue of India is no tax is a delusion, and if the cultivator at home is on precisely the same footing as the ryot in India, it is no wonder Mr. Asquith declares that both the tenure of land and its taxation in England require to be reformed. How much more so, then, in India, where, under every system of collecting land revenue which has ever prevailed in that country, nothing whatever has been done to provide the land with those necessary means by which alone the products of the earth can by any possibility be enhanced in value. The most certain criterion by which to judge of the hopeless condition of the agricultural classes in India is to look at the houses in their villages ; anything more miserable it is impossible to conceive, and this can only arise from the land laws being as bad as possible. All authorities are agreed that under the Zemindari tenure of land improvements are impossible, as the Irrigation Commission reported of the Central Provinces, for instance. Under the Ryotwari System in Madras, the ryot is so bound down by rules, regulations, etc., he cannot say his soul is his own, and except in its delta districts no improvements have been made worth speaking of.

If one may be allowed to advise Sir H. Fowler, I would recommend him to study the " Life and Works of Sir A.

Cotton, R.E.," who laboured principally in the Tanjore, Krishna, and Godaveri districts during his service in India. He threw away from himself into the dustbin all those ancient systems of collecting land revenue in India, and he provided the land with the best and most abundant means for fertilizing it, and for securing the crops from all damages, so that they could be raised to maturity in safety, and at the same time he provided the people with the *cheapest means* of transport at the right time *to the most extensive markets*; and the result of his works is that those same districts which could not before pay securely a revenue of 60 lacs a year to the State, now pay *with the greatest ease* upwards of 323 lacs a year, and maintain a dense population in the greatest prosperity and contentment, doing a thriving trade with the whole world. I am unable to give the total cost of the works, but should say this has not exceeded 300 lacs of rupees. Every endeavour had been made by the revenue officials to make these districts pay revenue to the State, and had failed, when Sir A. Cotton was called upon to devise measures to secure their prosperity; and by simply affording the land those means which are absolutely necessary for its successful cultivation, he has by the blessing of God established the most flourishing work in all India. In this country amongst the revenue officials of the old school, it is always assumed that if any extension of land cultivation takes place, then the people are prospering, and ought to pay more revenue to the Government; this is one of the greatest mistakes which can be made, and shows a total ignorance of the law relating to production from the land. This is very clearly shown by J. S. Mill in his "Principles of Political Economy," book i., chapter xii., paragraph 1. He says: "After a certain and *not a very advanced stage* in the progress of agriculture, it is the *law of production from the land* that in any given state of agricultural skill and knowledge, by increasing the labour, the produce is *not* increased in an equal degree. Doubling the labour does *not* double the produce; or, to express the

same thing in other words, every increase of produce is obtained by a more than proportional increase of the application of labour to the land. This general law of agricultural industry is the most important proposition in political economy, and is utterly unknown in all the systems of collecting land revenue in India, and fully accounts for its backward condition in all ages."

Perhaps the following remarks will roughly illustrate the working of this general law. If it is possible at one time to cultivate the land for one mile round a village in any country, the area will be 3.1416 square miles; but if it becomes absolutely necessary in order to obtain food, etc., for an increasing population to extend the cultivation to two miles round the village, the area is not doubled but quadrupled, and will be 12.5664 square miles. Deducting from this the former area, 3.1416, the extent of land to be provided with labour now is 9.4248, or more than three times as much as the original area required; and if, as in India at all times, no advance has been made in agricultural skill and industry, the burden on the population for the mere purpose of obtaining food for a bare existence has been more than trebled, how, then, is it possible for them to pay any assessment on this land without its being a most burdensome tax?

Some complain of the salt tax in India as a burden on a necessary of life, but why it is difficult to understand.* At its present rate it is less than twopence a year per head of population. This necessary of life can be increased or decreased at pleasure, but not so with the tax on food, however scantily provided, as a certain quantity of food must be obtained to maintain life at all, and with the ancient methods of obtaining this in India, the cost is excessive, and it would be far better and wiser to provide the land with all necessary means for increasing and reducing cost of production, and so promote the

* See letter from Mr. Pennington on this subject in our "Correspondence, Notes, and News."—Ed.

general welfare of the whole population, and leave the salt tax, opium revenue, and other such matters alone. We can improve the general condition of the people by attending to their greatest wants as much as possible, but we do no good by constantly agitating against some particular fad, for this may lead to very serious and most lamentable consequences, as the population of India, in general, are very ignorant and superstitious, and easily excited to have recourse to unlawful means by pretenders appealing to their ancient customs and ceremonies being interfered with or abolished. The spirit which has raised Japan has at present in India no prevailing existence.

The Indian railway system, as is always loudly declared, has conferred "the most incalculable benefits" on the country, and Mr. Morley says, in his Budget speech, it is really worth thinking about for a moment; so, by the help of the figures he gives, we will endeavour to ascertain approximately the results of those works, during more than half a century. India has now 30,000 miles of railways; its area is said to be 1,000,000 square miles, therefore she possesses about 1 mile of railway to every $33\frac{1}{3}$ square miles of area. The United Kingdom possesses 1 mile of railway to every 2 or 3 square miles of area, hence it is quite evident India is still very behindhand in the matter of railway-feeders, or common roads. The average distance for products to be conveyed to a railway-station in this case is over 16 miles of country without few common roads, whilst at home this distance probably averages about 2 miles. If, then, the Indian railways convey goods traffic for one halfpenny a ton a mile, it costs the country twopence a ton a mile to get the goods to the railways, or an average of 2s. 8d., and this cost at home is probably less than one penny a ton a mile, or only one-thirty-second of what it is in India. The late Mr. Robertson was not far wrong when he said the freight charges on these Indian railways was over 80 per cent. too high for the country. Again, the passenger traffic on these lines is very trifling, for

out of a population of some 300 millions only 250 millions travel by railway—about 80 per cent. of the whole population. In the United Kingdom, with only 22,634 miles of railway, these convey more than 1,200 millions of passengers in a year; in other words, the whole population is carried thirty times over in the same time. In 1905 the Indian railways conveyed 56 million tons of goods, or about one-fifth of a ton per head of population; in the United Kingdom the railways convey over 10 tons per head of population in a year. This fact goes far to show that the railway system has not promoted the industries of India to any large extent, and as they have not added a farthing to the value of real estate in general in half a century, it is difficult to realize "the incalculable benefits" they have conferred on the country. The subject is a very serious one, and it ought to have received much more consideration in the House of Commons than was awarded to it at the fag-end of a session.

According to Mr. Morley the debt of India on March 31, 1905, was £214,000,000, of which £154,000,000 represented the cost of railways and irrigation works; stated in this manner it is impossible to fix the cost per mile of the railways. The loss on these up to 1900 for guaranteed interest, by exchange, etc., for forty years was all charged to revenue, and therefore paid out of the taxes, so the real cost of these works to the country is less than £150,000,000 more; and if we remember that during the time these works were constructing all irrigation works were discouraged as much as possible, it is utterly impossible to believe this policy has conferred "incalculable benefits" on the country. Agriculture is the great industry of India, and it cannot by any possibility be successfully carried on without an abundant water-supply for man and beast. Over 80 per cent. of the population of India are employed in the cultivation of the land; and when this land is burdened with the cost of the railway system, and its most important requirements are ignored and neglected,

how can it be said the interests of the people have been properly attended to?

Now that George Stephenson's prediction is likely to be fulfilled, and electricity will soon become the great motive power of the world, the railways are likely to become of less use for all general purposes of transport. The storage of water, then, becomes a matter of the greatest importance, not for domestic or irrigation purposes alone, but to generate electric power; and to utilize this as much as possible the country should be provided with the best crop and main roads kept in perfect order, as Mr. Hawkshaw pointed out a few years ago in his address on becoming the president of the C.E. Institute, London. To provide India with works which will promote her greatest industry to the uttermost we have before us a task far heavier than railway works required. These required on the large plains of India very little ability to lay them out, but to provide India with good hydraulic works will require all the skill and ability which was displayed in projecting and executing such works as the Godavery and Krishna Anikuts; and judging from the experience of the last half-century in Madras, she will not easily find the men to do the work. Already the returns from irrigation works in this Presidency have been reduced by 4 per cent. a year, chiefly through mismanagement and deplorable incompetency.

Mr. Morley says: "Ten years ago the exports and imports of India amounted to £119,250,000, and in 1905 these had increased to £174,250,000, at the rate of 5½ millions a year—under half a million a month—and he considers this to be highly satisfactory for the labour of some 300 millions of people. In the United Kingdom some 40 millions of people increase their foreign trade at the rate of 5 or 6 millions a month; and as the people of India are not savages, but possess very great intelligence, and are quite willing to improve their labour if only shown the right way, it is quite evident the fault lies with the

Government, who are the sole owners of the soil of the country. If their system of administering the cultivation of the land has resulted, as J. S. Mill says, in leaving the ryots with little more 'than a bare subsistence,' and this is the great industry of this country, it is quite evident the land laws require to be reformed to relieve the soil as much as possible from this enormous burden of taxation. No mere revising of assessment at short periods can possibly effect this. The Cutcherry Brahmin has tried this kind of thing for twenty centuries and has utterly failed, for he was, and is still, totally ignorant of 'the essential conditions' the land must be provided with before it can be profitably cultivated. They always make the same excuses when the revenue fails, and declare the people are idle and will not work, just as Pharaoh's taskmasters did three or four thousand years ago, and with exactly the same results. But when the Government gave Sir A. Cotton a pretty free hand, and allowed him to provide the land with those requisites of production which it *absolutely needed*, a very different state of affairs was brought about, especially in the Godavery and Krishna districts, whilst those districts all over India which have remained under the old Cutcherry systems of merely collecting land revenue by hook or by crook are just as backward as they have always been, and are lucky if they can earn even 'a bare subsistence' in years of plentiful rainfall. But when this fails then the burden falls on the State to keep the people alive at the expense of the whole community; and no philosophic exposition can make us believe such a condition of affairs is most highly satisfactory, for we know it can be well and easily remedied for the benefit of all concerned.

"The success of Lord Cromer's administration in Egypt is no doubt chiefly due to the circumstance that he freed labour from the imposition and exaction of the tax-gatherer, the common practice in all Asiatic countries for ages, of which his lordship was well aware from his experience

and knowledge of India, wherein, according to J. S. Mill, only a bare subsistence is left the ryot by the collectors of the land revenue. In Egypt Lord Cromer has secured abundant means for fertilizing the soil by irrigation."

The other "essential condition" for success in cultivating the land—i.e., making all his canals navigable to ports and markets—had this been done as effectually as it has been carried out in the delta of the Godavery, the success most assuredly would have been the same. For instance, in this delta Ramachandrapuram talug has been provided with the easiest and cheapest means of transport to the port of Coconada and all the markets of the world, and can afford with ease an assessment of Rs. 9 per acre; whereas, in all the other talugs of this delta which do not possess such facilities of access to the markets of the world, the average rate of assessment is only Rs. 6 per acre, a loss of 50 per cent. in revenue every year for want of the proper means of navigation which can be very easily afforded.

In the report of the Revenue Settlement of the Godavery District by the Board of Revenue, Madras, this difference in the rates of assessment is accounted for as "soil war" in a delta formation! Just the kind of *rubbish* we always meet with in India under its ancient systems of cultivating land revenue which is considered too sacred to be interfered with by the knowledge and experience of the Western world. However, Japan does not think so any longer, and it is no wonder it has left India lagging so far behind in the race for progress in civilization and position amongst the nations of the world!

From some data lately given in *Indian Engineering* it may be estimated that railways in India, on an average, have cost £15,000 a mile in construction; there are now 30,000 miles of railways in India, the total cost to the country, then, amounts to £450,000,000. Mr. Morley gives the debt of India for railways and irrigation at £154,000,000. Deducting from this the 28 millions spent

on irrigation, the debt for railways is 126 millions. The total cost of the railways is approximately 450 millions; so, then, no less a sum than 324 millions has been paid out of the revenues or taxes of India during some fifty-five years, or at the rate nearly of 6 millions a year. During the same period about half a million a year has been spent on irrigation and charged to debts; is not this doling out "one poor pennyworth of bread to a most intolerable deal of sack"? If it was so very iniquitous to tax a prime necessary of life as salt, what are we to say to the taxing of the country at the above rate for railways and leaving the food of the country, *the first* necessary of life, so little cared for? This policy surely cannot have been *the* right one to follow, for the country has an abundant rainfall, and nothing is easier than to utilize this to the uttermost, prevent all famines, and increase the wealth of the country to almost any amount by simply providing the means for carrying on its chief industry—agriculture—on a sound basis, as they are doing in the arid regions of the United States of America most successfully.

THE BURDEN OF THE BRITISH INDIAN IN SOUTH AFRICA.*

BY LEWIS WALTER RITCH.

SOUTH AFRICA has of late years figured so prominently before the British public, and the grievances of the British Indian population in the colonies of the sub-continent have from time to time been so industriously and accurately detailed by such champions of British Indian liberty as Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir William Wedderburn, and, not least of all, the gentleman who has paid me the compliment of presiding here this afternoon, that but very little by way of preamble should be necessary at a gathering of the members of this Association.

Unfortunately, the numerous protests and representations have so far failed in materially improving the position. On the contrary, it grows day by day worse, and it is therefore not difficult for me to break fresh ground for your benefit this afternoon.

Perhaps it will be as well at the outset to define my own position. The gentlemen to whom I have made previous grateful reference are themselves either Indian by birth or by more or less direct association. Their interference in this cause, though highly commendable, is not remarkable. I, on the other hand, am merely a South African colonist of some seventeen years' residence, an Englishman and a Jew, and my place therefore in this *galère* perchance calls for some explanation.

My acquaintance with the South African British Indian question is first hand. It arises from an intimate personal contact with my British Indian fellow-colonists extending over nearly twenty years; from relations commercial, professional, and social. I feel that I know and appreciate this people from the standpoint of their magnifi-

* For discussion on this paper see report of the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

cent historic past as well as in the chastening gloom of their unhappy present. I have tried to understand them, their traditions and their literature, and embodying in my own personality the Orientalism of descent with the Occidentalism of birth, upbringing, and environment, I submit that I occupy a position favourable to an impartial appreciation of their case.

As such, then, I am to supplement to your readers my own humble contribution, to the many vigorous protests against the un-English treatment of this people in the South African colonies, and to plead with all the earnestness that is in me for a fair and sympathetic consideration of their cause.

It is surely unnecessary at this advanced stage to repeat that the British Indian in South Africa, irrespective of his qualifications, and because he is a British Indian, is treated on an entirely different footing to his fellow-colonist; that he is to all intents and purposes bracketed with the aboriginal Bantu native, and treated as such; that whereas in the one colony he is not admitted at all save he comes as a menial, in another the regulations consign him to the roadway and forbid him the footpath. Here, he is subjected to the indignity of carrying an identification pass after the fashion of the Kaffir; there, he is subjected to this or that other galling and offensive restriction. In short, he is the object of special class legislation and ostracism. The unsavoury particulars have already repeatedly been set out in detail. In themselves they are sufficiently ugly to contemplate; but, like the unsightly eruptions on the skin, are after all but friendly indicators of a worse trouble existing below the surface. We must not be satisfied merely to suppress the symptoms; we have to get at the root of the evil, and, if possible, eradicate it.

I propose, then, inviting you first to accompany me in a brief retrospective view of the anti-Indian legislation in the various colonies of South Africa; then to a brief consideration of the causes responsible, in my opinion, for the mis-

chief; and, lastly, I shall venture to offer some suggestions as to the remedy.

To take a bird's-eye view of the territory we are to cover, it may not be *mal apropos* to remember that the several colonies of the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, Transvaal, and the Orange River Colony are together very nearly the size of half India, whilst their population—European, Indian, and native—is smaller than that of London. The Indian population is approximately—

Natal :

Indentured Indians	...	55,000	
Free Indians	...	15,000	
Freed Indians	...	30,000	
			100,000
Transvaal	...	...	13,000
Cape of Good Hope	...	...	10,000
Orange River Colony	...	...	40 or 50
Delagoa Bay (Portuguese territory)	...	...	5,000

The proportion of Indians to Europeans is in Natal about equal, in the Transvaal and in the Cape under 5 per cent., and in the Orange River Colony infinitesimal.

To trace the first coming of the British Indian to South Africa, we have to hark back half a century. There in the last forties—in the days when Natal was a Crown colony; with broad acres and a sparse European population, a considerable but indolent native race; her finances at low-water mark; her plantations and other nascent industries pining for the lack of labour to develop them—came the first importation of indentured coolies from India.

Under the conditions then obtaining the Natalians evidently considered the expedient not wholly indefensible. Peculiarities of climate, of soil, the native question—all may not unreasonably be urged to have justified the step. But while the indenture system adopted cannot, of course, be quite accurately termed slavery in its cruder form, it differs so remarkably from the ordinary contract as between

the employer and employé as to fall into a category quite by itself. It may not be slavery, but many of its incidents are suggestively common to both. The unholy taint is there, and it is not difficult to trace its corrupting influence upon both labourer and master. The records of the Natal courts are replete with instances of abuses practised upon these poor miserable "importations." The average colonist of those days was not, and, for that matter, is not, evolved much beyond the matter-of-fact, everyday, get-what-he-can-out-of-it stage, to whom the coloured man, imported for his benefit and retailed to him by his Government, is his nigger who has got to obey his boss or know why. His respect is naturally restricted to such of his human kind as respect themselves and exact respect from him. What save contempt can such a one be expected to feel for his coolie?

Cases of ill-treatment, desertion, and suicide became frequent. The facts and figures are available to such as are interested in them. The details are not of such sweet savour as to make one over-anxious to parade them as the acts of one's own people.

That the experiment of the forties was considered profitable to the colony is evident from the utterances of Natal's own legislators and of a self-congratulatory press. Indeed, the Natal Government actually voted a sum of £10,000 to encourage the introduction of Indian labour. Mr. Garland, in an election address, dealt with this matter in the following terms: "And at the last, as the only thing to be done, the immigration of Indians was entered upon, and the Legislature very wisely rendered their support and help to this all-important scheme. At the time it was entered upon the progress and almost the existence of the colony hung in the balance. And now, what is the result of this scheme of immigration? Financially £10,000 has been advanced yearly out of the treasury of the colony. With what result? Just this, that no vote ever made of money to develop the industries of the colony or to promote

its interests in any way in this colony has yielded such a financial profitable return as that shown by the introduction of coolies as labourers into this colony. . . . I believe the Durban population of Europeans, had no such labour been supplied as required for colonial industries, would be less by at least half what it is to-day, and five workmen only would be required where twenty now have employment. Property in Durban generally would have remained at a value some 300 or 400 per cent. below that which now obtains, and the lands in the colony and other towns, in proportion according to the value of property in Durban, and coast-lands would never have realized what they now sell at."

The following extract is from an article in the *New Review* by Sir Harry Johnstone, quoted in the *Natal Mercury* for August 11, 1894: "One seeks the solution in the introduction of a yellow race able to stand a tropical climate and intelligent enough to undertake these special avocations which in temperate climates would be filled by Europeans. The yellow race most successful hitherto in Eastern Africa is the native of Hindustan—that race, in divers types and divers religions, which under British or Portuguese ægis has created and developed the commerce of the East African littoral. The immigration of the docile, kindly, thrifty, industrious, clever-fingered, sharp-witted Indian into Central Africa will furnish us with the solid core of our armed forces in that continent, and will supply us with telegraph clerks, the petty shopkeepers, the skilled artisans, the cooks, the minor employés, the clerks, and the railway officials needed in the civil administration of tropical Africa. The Indian, liked by both black and white, will serve as a link between these two divergent races."

This is strong testimony, and in face of it, it, at first glance, seems difficult to understand later developments. Very many of the time-expired coolies naturally elected to remain in the land that may not unfairly be said to have owed them something, which had become the birthplace of

children—ay, and sometimes a burial-place too. A class of small traders, hawkers, and other similar useful public “conveniences,” developed from these. Merchants and storekeepers had, moreover, settled in the towns and near the centres of activity, where their humbler countrymen were so industriously contributing to the improvement of the colony. The community was becoming a coherent whole, was rising, and that by sheer merit and force of character, from the lowliest rung of the ladder to a place of respectability and responsibility. Its members became property-owners and ship-owners. Sons of indentured labourers were sent to be educated by self-denying parents, and are to-day adorning the liberal professions. Not that any such facilities were afforded by the Government of the land of their birth or adoption; on the other hand, such needs appear to have been almost wholly overlooked, and adequate schooling must even now be sought by the young British Indian beyond the colonial shores.

And thereby they sounded the knell of their doom. Their safety as a community consisted in their lying low. As long as they were content to remain hewers of wood and drawers of water they were desirables. As their inherent strength of character and fitness for higher callings asserted themselves, they became superfluities. The “coolie Sammy,” the “coolie merchant,” the “coolie lawyer,” the “coolie agriculturalist” were becoming, to use the colonial vernacular, “too cheeky.” He had to be repressed.

In 1894 we get the Disfranchising Act, an impudent attempt not merely to exclude the British Indian, as such, from obtaining the franchise—this was his already by the law of the land—the Act aimed at depriving him of the right which he already possessed. Thanks to Lord Ripon, this attempt proved abortive. He declined to sanction this too pointedly anti-Indian legislation. But exactly the same effect was arrived at by a substituted measure; and at the present time British Indian merchants and professional men

living in the colony of Natal have no voice in the government of the land, because in India there is said to be "no representation founded upon parliamentary franchise."

In 1895 Lord Elgin was asked to sanction the compulsory repatriation of the coolie upon completion of his indenture in cases where he was so ill-advised as to decline to serve a further term. This being disallowed, a £25 tax was sought, to be imposed upon every coolie who remained in the colony. No success favouring even this statesmanlike measure, a law imposing a special annual poll-tax of £3 was then tried, and, at last, accepted at the Colonial Office.

In 1897 Mr. Harry Escombe introduced the Immigration Restriction Bill designed to restrict the influx of Asiatics—not, of course, under indenture, but only when they presumed to enter the Colony as free men. This again was vetoed. To-day the test is an educational one, and the language any European tongue.

The Dealers' Licenses Act now follows, and gives a turn of the screw for the benefit of such Indians as were already established in the colony. It confers powers upon Licensing Officers and Town Councils to grant or refuse trading licenses at their sweet option. And—what a precedent! What a departure from British tradition!—*precludes any right of appeal to the Supreme Court.*

In the Municipal Law Consolidation Bill there is on foot a proposal to deprive the Indian-British citizen of the municipal franchise which has hitherto been preserved to him. He is to be not only a political outcast but a civil pariah, too. This in respect of a community that owns in the aggregate little short of a million pounds' worth of landed property.

It is not uninteresting to notice that the importation of the Indian under indentures continues despite all this at the rate of about 3,000 per annum.

Much as I may have wearied you in my treatment of the situation in the one colony of Natal, I have in reality

trodden only upon the merest fringe of the subject. It must not be forgotten that Natal is entitled to the place of honour as well as to the largest measure of our attention by reason of her having taken the initiative in anti-Indian legislation, and having set the fashion to her sister colonies.

Passing on to her northern neighbour, we note that originally under the ægis of the late Transvaal Republic British Indians had both free ingress and free trading rights. True, they were not regarded with any special favour. Colour prejudice is an article of faith with the Boer. It is not a subject upon which he will reason. Nevertheless, the poorer section of the Dutch community, especially, were quick to recognise the merits of the small shopkeeper and the hawker, who, no matter his colour, was content to retail necessities in small quantities and at fair prices. The local European merchants found in this class of trader a trustworthy customer, and one to whom credit might generally be given with a minimum of risk. Only some three years since a strongly worded petition, extensively signed by the European merchants of Johannesburg against the further imposition of trading restrictions upon British Indians, frankly acknowledged these facts. Indeed, the proportion of Indian insolvencies has always been small. But the hydra must needs sooner or later obtrude its ugly head. Law 3 of 1885 was passed not so much at the initiative of the Boers themselves, as at the instance of jealous traders and others, bent upon displacing the hated "coolie."

The Indian thereby became officially classed with the native—the Kleurling. He might not hold land registered in his name. As a trader he was required to pay a fee of £3. Irritating class distinctions were made in the matter of railway carriages, tramways, and cabs; and the whole host of hatred-fostering elements were imported and let loose.

But in practice the law was largely a dead letter. Land was held, the £3 fee was not exacted, and despite the

many disabilities actually inflicted, the Indian colonist carried on his business and went his way, protected by the shadow of the Union Jack, which was agitated for his benefit, whenever a tendency to enforce the law manifested itself.

It is now history that this differentiating in the case of British-Indian colonists was an important element in the *casus belli*. The fact was emphasized by both the then Colonial Secretary and Lord Milner. How, it was asked, could we hope to retain the confidence of our valued British subjects in India if we demonstrated our inability to protect such of their number as settled within the borders of a small foreign Republic? Oh, the irony of it! The war is ended; the war in which Indian soldiers fought, bled, and died; in which the despised "coolie lawyers" and "coolie doctors," and "coolie things" generally, as volunteer stretcher-bearers and hospital orderlies, laboured, parched, scorched, and froze, side by side with the English Tommy, so that they might share the privilege of bearing their modicum of the Mother-Empire's burden. And the sequel? With the declaration of peace, and when the Union Jack, after many days, once again waved over the land, the bad old un-English legislation was of course promptly banished from the Statute Book. Yes, all save such as had adversely affected the British-Indian colonist! Somehow, his matter got overlooked. His claim to relief no longer counted. Law 3 of 1885 was allowed to stand—nay, more, it was speedily put into rigid operation. Under the old régime it had been there, but was practically a dead letter. It was now interpreted extensively by the new Government, and trouble, hardship, and litigation resulted, such as had never previously been experienced.

Sir M. M. Bownaggee, K.C.I.E., in his masterly open letter to the then Colonial Secretary, has drawn a very clear comparison between the position of the wretched British-Indian colonist before and after the war. Those who have not studied it should do so. As has been aptly remarked,

whereas the Dutchman formerly chastised him with whips, the British Government now chastises him with scorpions.

Only passing reference can here be made to the various bazaar schemes concocted with the object of driving the British-Indian trader away from the towns to remote spots where there should be no danger of his intercepting any of the precious trade of his white competitors; of the re-registration, voluntarily submitted to, at the suggestion of Lord Milner, and carried into effect by the officials with harshness little removed from brutality; of the hardships and delays experienced by *bonâ-fide* pre-war residents in gaining re-entry into the country.

The Peace Preservation Ordinance was twisted from its original purpose and applied for the purpose of restricting Indian immigration into the colony. We must pass rapidly to the Ordinance of 1906, which is now in the hands of Lord Elgin for his approval before finally becoming law in the Transvaal, and which is a fitting coping-stone to the unlovely edifice of class legislation erected so industriously upon the poor, violated rights of this unhappy people. Time forbids my dealing with it in detail. Those who are now fighting it tooth and nail have printed a protest which does that, and a copy of this is obtainable by any who may feel interested. It is contended, and I hold rightly, that the effect of this Ordinance is to humiliate the British-Indian colonist to a degree hitherto unprecedented. It requires that he shall be re-registered—once more; that he shall carry on his person his pass after the manner of the Kaffir; shall be compelled to produce it to any—even native—constable who may order him to do so. The re-registration is to include a full description of his person, and his ten digit prints are to be impressed for his better identification, much after the manner of dealing with criminals. In a word, his position, compatible with retention of the last vestige of self-respect, is to be made wholly untenable—unless Lord Elgin vetoes the Ordinance.

It has become necessary for a deputation to journey

6,000 miles at great inconvenience and expense to place the true facts before the Colonial Secretary. The two gentlemen who have been deputed by virtually the whole South African British-Indian community to use every legitimate effort to procure the veto of this latest, most infamous piece of legislation, are here present this afternoon, and will, I trust, allow themselves to be persuaded to address the meeting. Mr. Ally is a comparatively recent friend of mine, a gentleman respected by all who know him, a loyal colonist of many years' experience, and a self-sacrificing member of his community. Mr. Gandhi I have known for many years. Of him I can speak only with reverence. I have been privileged to know him with an intimacy that is rare between men. The troubles of India's children would end ere many weeks were past, could she produce a hundred such as he. But this is a digression for which I crave your pardon.

We proceed to take a brief glance at the position in the Cape Colony. There, the British Indian is to all intents and purposes on a par with his fellow-colonists. The spectacle affords a refreshing contrast to that we have just contemplated.

Immigration is restricted under the provisions of the Cape Act, which imposes an educational test in a European language upon all alike.

The Orange River Colony occupies an entirely unique position, and is the envy of the rabid anti-Asiatic agitator—the pattern to be emulated and striven up to!

As far back as 1888 the Free State bundled her British-Indian settlers bag and baggage out of the territory. This, of course, was before the British annexation, but this fact did not prevent the Imperial Government looking unconcernedly on, and permitting her subjects' interests to be sacrificed on the altar of prejudice and greed without let, hindrance, or compensation.

Delagoa Bay is, of course, Portuguese, not British territory. We English are given to regarding the neigh-

bouring Portuguese colonies rather patronizingly. Of Delagoa Bay it is only necessary to say that her Indian population live and trade on terms of perfect equality with all other sections of the community, are prosperous, influential, and highly respected. Of late years British capital and British interests have asserted themselves, and much of the land and the business of the port of Lorenzo Marques is in the British hands. It may, of course, only be coincidence, but, oddly enough, within the last year or two the advance cry of anti-Indian agitation has made itself heard.

If I have not already quite exhausted your patience, I would ask you to bear with me yet a little longer. You have the facts substantially before you. Consider with me the lesson we have to learn from them. We are all more or less familiar with the gospel of the White Man's Burden. The idea acquired a considerable vogue a few years ago. As I understand it, it signifies that we of the Western world—the white races—regard ourselves as the chosen missionaries to leaven the lump of the benighted outer world with the precious yeast of our superiority.

The conceit apart, and ignoring the very open question of the inherent superiority of our much-vaunted Western civilization over, say, that of the old "benighted" East, the picture of a people weighted with a sense of responsibility for the uplifting of lowlier and less fortunate nations can excite naught but admiration. We may wonder, but we must respect. Empire sought and gained in such a spirit is nobly acquired, for only under the impulse of an honest desire to serve can one people burden itself with the laborious duty of effecting the redemption of another.

If wisely and conscientiously done, it is a great and noble work. It was so done when, to England's eternal honour, she bled herself of much treasure in order that the taint of negro slavery should no longer afflict the world.

Theoretically, our attitude towards our so-called conquered races in India and the colonies is similarly prompted; but in practice what we find is that the safe

strong rock of tried and trusted principle, upon which England alone attained to her pre-eminence, has been abandoned for the deceptive quicksands of expediency. We have ceased to do what is righteous and just and honest simply because it is so. Honesty is no longer good enough for its own sake, but only when we think it good policy. What, save one long story of expediency in conduct, in place of simple trust in and adherence to time-honoured principles, can be held to account for the present wretched plight of the British Indian under the British Flag?

Could the present difficulty of holding the scales impartially between the Indian and European colonist have ever arisen had the Imperial Government from the first firmly declined to permit any one section of her subjects to treat any other section as an inferior and lower order of being? What else was to be expected from sanctioning the "importation" of Indian subjects under the servile conditions incidental to indenture? What else than the cheapening of the one people in the eyes of the other, the sowing of the seed of race contempt and hatred and oppression? It was inevitable that the miserable virus then first inoculated should poison and corrupt the moral fibre of both Indian and European colonists.

And what is there that may yet be done at this eleventh hour? Consider what it is that the British Indian in South Africa is demanding. Not an open door for the free ingress of all and sundry of his countrymen, not any political status. He is content with the very simple grant and protection of the vested rights of the community already settled in the colonies; the application of a reasonable educational test such as that embodied in the Cape Act upon would-be immigrants—in short, the simple privilege of living as well as letting live.

Is he to be wholly abandoned to the fate of extinction? Has the Empire in very truth become an Empire in name only? Is the Motherland completely powerless to check

the extravagances of her children? Has the once steady hand grown so shaky that it can no longer hold the scales of justice evenly? What are the millions of India to conclude from these things?

Surely there is still time—time to abandon this weak attitude of compliance with what at the moment seems easiest, to awaken to the true position, and, like the Britannia of old, to once again declare for “St. George and the right” *coûte que coûte*.

THE WITHDRAWAL OF ST. HELENA'S GARRISON.

VIEWS OF EMINENT EXPERTS.

IN our October issue was published the petition presented by the inhabitants of St. Helena, in which the attention of the Secretary of State for the Colonies was drawn to the disastrous results of removing the troops. The Earl of Elgin has replied, expressing his inability to advise the retention of the garrison owing to reasons of Imperial policy. He, however, urged the inhabitants to endeavour to establish a flax or some other suitable industry, and added that any genuine effort to maintain the position of the colony would meet with sympathy and encouragement at the hands of the Home Government.

While there were still hopes of the troops being retained, the St. Helena Committee addressed a circular to a few eminent authorities on military subjects, of which the text is given below, together with a selection from the replies. They will serve to show that expert opinion is by no means unanimous as to the wisdom of the step which has been taken.

"In his Report for 1905 on St. Helena, His Excellency the Governor, Lieutenant-Colonel H. L. Gallwey, C.M.G., states that the reduction of the garrison by the withdrawal of the entire infantry regiment of Lancashire Fusiliers in 1905 involved a very serious financial loss to the colony, the means of subsistence enjoyed by the inhabitants having been, and being still, mainly dependent on the troops.

"The actual strength of the garrison on December 31, 1905, was 8 officers, 2 warrant officers, and 201 rank and file.

"This is slightly less than one-half the strength on the corresponding date of the previous year; and, owing to the departure of time-expired men and other details, whose

places are not being filled up, the garrison has now been reduced to about 180 of all ranks.

"The St. Helena Committee are desirous of obtaining the opinion of authorities on military and naval defence, and trust that you will favour them with an expression of your views, more particularly as to the military or naval aspects involved by the proposed withdrawal of the remaining small garrison, consisting of 150 gunners and 30 Royal Engineers.

"The St. Helena Committee have been given to understand that there was, a short time since, a strong consensus of military opinion that St. Helena should be well fortified and garrisoned. Now, however, it is intended to leave the island to be protected against possible aggression from without, and disorder from within, by a force of five native policemen. No saving will be effected, as the Imperial Government will probably find it necessary to make a grant of from £5,000 to £6,000 annually to maintain roads, telephones, etc., hitherto kept up by the military authorities, and to establish new industries. It is obvious, too, that the troops must be maintained elsewhere, at certainly no less a cost than at present.

"The armament is composed of some twenty guns, of which most are of 6-inch calibre, scientifically placed so as to command the approaches of the island. These guns are of an effective character, while three years ago two guns of an up-to-date pattern were landed and placed in position. The present garrison could, it is held, repel the raids of cruisers, and, indeed, any imaginable form of attack, until the arrival of British men-of-war. There is also a white volunteer force, most of the members of which will probably have to seek a living elsewhere if the garrison leaves, and its help, therefore, cannot be taken into account. On the departure of the garrison the valuable forts, guns, ammunition, barracks, coal stores, etc., will fall into disrepair.

"The most important questions on which a statement of

your views is desired by the Committee may be summarized as follows :

"1. Should the St. Helena garrison be retained in its present strength—viz., 150 gunners and 30 Royal Engineers? Or

"2. Should it be increased by, say, one regiment of infantry as formerly? Or

"3. Should merely some 50 to 75 men be kept to maintain the armaments, barracks, and forts, etc., in proper repair for future contingencies—*e.g.*, internment of prisoners of war, etc.? Or

"4. Should the garrison be entirely withdrawn, and no steps taken to keep in repair the armaments, etc., as is believed to be the present intention of the Imperial authorities?

"I am, etc.,

"(Signed) A. G. WISE,

"*Secretary, St. Helena Committee.*"

To the foregoing letter the following replies were received. Admiral the Hon. Sir Edmund R. Fremantle, G.C.B., wrote as follows :

"In view of our Imperial responsibilities as a great maritime power, it appears to me a suicidal policy to leave an important strategical position such as St. Helena defenceless; bases are necessary, and it is part of the strength of the British Empire that we have so many in different parts of the globe.

"I should be satisfied with the strength of the garrison as existing on December 31, 1905.

"I admit that, owing to the substitution of steam for sail, and the increasing power of modern steamships, St. Helena has lost much of its importance, so that it is reasonable to have a reduced garrison; but to leave it entirely without protection would tempt a hostile cruiser to make a temporary use of it."

The Right Hon. Sir John C. R. Colomb, K.C.M.G., replied :

"Permit me to preface my replies to your questions by observing that between 1866 and 1879 I devoted myself to proclaiming the doctrine of Imperial defence, and urging attention to principles of Imperial policy in this regard, when these were repudiated by authorities and public opinion as dreams, and not realities. One of the principles I urged was the defence of our coaling stations by local means as an Imperial necessity. I pleaded for moderate provision for such places—and they were not many—but St. Helena was one of them.

"After twelve years' labour, Lord Carnarvon accepted these doctrines, and as a result the Royal Commission on Defence of Coaling Stations—under his chairmanship—was appointed. It was a secret commission, and the evidence was not published, while my desire to serve upon it was rejected. In the result, and as I anticipated, the authorities and the public veered round and took an extreme view of the defence of coaling stations, and the rest of my life has been spent in protesting against the reckless and unjustifiable expenditure on works and armaments on these fixed positions; and at last, and quite recently, policy was again changed.

"It was always plain to me that as the *staying* power of warships increased, so would the relative importance of intermediate coaling stations decrease. St. Helena is an intermediate one, and I am bound honestly to state frankly that, in view of the staying power of ships to-day, the strategic value of St. Helena does not, in my opinion, justify any substantial demand on the pockets of the home taxpayers, who already bear practically the whole enormous burden of necessary provision for the defence of the whole British Empire. The cry now is to save these pockets even at the risk of dangerous weakness of the Empire in war. In my view the whole Empire should contribute to the cost of making it secure, and the time is near when

it will be felt that to trust the security of the whole vast, widespread Empire to the exertions and efforts of the people in one corner of it is to bring about, sooner or later, its downfall. Pardon these generalities, but I do not wish to be misunderstood in answering your questions as follows:

"1. I see no justification on strategic grounds in doing so.

"2. No.

"3. For the present, and for some time to come, I think the whole of the present garrison should not be suddenly withdrawn.

"4. I cannot but think that wise statesmanship would find in St. Helena a position of value, not, of course, strategical, but as a sanatorium and storehouse, and I strongly feel that an Empire must, or at all events *ought*, to be very careful to cherish, and in a liberal spirit, the interests of an island, in which its flag flies, of such historical interest in its glorious past."

Admiral Sir E. H. Seymour, K.C.B., wrote:

"It has been made two different questions:

"A. Imperial strategy.

"B. Prosperity of the island.

"I shall not enter into B. As regards A, first, it is a military, and not a naval, question. However, I think I may reply as follows to your queries:

"1. No.

"2. No.

"3. Yes, certainly.

"4. No.

"If 3 is kept to, what is already there will be kept ready for use, as it should be, and if war comes there would be time to increase the garrison sufficiently to use the present means of defence."

Admiral Sir Cyprian A. G. Bridge, G.C.B., said:

"I have given your letter careful consideration, and consequently have taken some time before replying to it.

"I should like to say that I sympathize very heartily with the people of St. Helena. It ought not to be forgotten that the conditions at St. Helena, as they have been for a considerable time past, are the creation of the Imperial Government. Used as the island has been—if not uninterruptedly, at least for many years off and on—the presence in it of a loyal population must have been of great assistance, perhaps indispensable, to the Government in carrying out a particular branch of its policy. To ignore altogether the people who have rendered assistance that could hardly have been done without would be much to be regretted.

"If my recollection serves me, when, on a former occasion, there was a reduction or nearly complete withdrawal of the garrison, the Government incurred the expense of removing a large part of the population. This may be taken as an admission of moral responsibility for the welfare of people whose presence in the island was indirectly, if not directly, due to the Government's policy.

"I have ventured to make the foregoing observations in order to show that, in my opinion, the St. Helena question is by no means a purely strategical one.

"It is sometimes impossible to solve a strategical question independently of all considerations of policy, diplomacy, and finance, and it is not unlikely that the St. Helena question is one of the kind. For this reason I could not give any useful opinion on the case, and I hope that you will excuse me for not replying more precisely to your questions."

The reply from Major-General Sir Alfred Turner, late Inspector-General of Auxiliary Forces, was as follows:

"I have been in St. Helena, and personally I greatly regret the decision, which must have, it seems to me, a fatal effect on the welfare of the island.

"It was held that, in spite of the rapid communication with India afforded by the Suez Canal, circumstances might arise which would prevent its use in time of war, in

which case recourse must be had to rapid steamers going round the Cape, like the ships of yore; and, if so, St. Helena would be of as great importance as ever. It proved, moreover, of great value during the late South African War.

"In the appeal of your Committee it is stated that 'until quite lately there has been a strong consensus of military opinion that St. Helena should be strongly fortified and garrisoned.' This statement is correct, and I am unaware what has led to modification of this opinion. I cannot say what the present feeling of the Navy is on the subject.

"With regard to your Committee's questions, from my own former knowledge, and in accordance with the opinion which has for a century up till lately existed on the subject, I should (not being conversant with the circumstances which have led to the present new departure on the part of the Government) reply to No. 2 in the affirmative, and to Nos. 1, 3, and 4 in the negative."

The Hon. T. A. Brassey wrote:

"My answer to your queries Nos. 2 and 4 is No. I think a garrison of about half the present strength, as suggested in question No. 3, would probably suffice; but it may be that the present number (180 men) is necessary."

Major-General Brooke answered to the following effect:

"I am strongly in favour of keeping some life in St. Helena; if the troops are withdrawn, I don't see how it is to live. In case, however, of their withdrawal, I would suggest that the naval station at Ascension should be transferred bodily to St. Helena. The money spent in that desolate and useless island would give the necessary life to St. Helena, and if it were handed over to the navy it would be kept in a state of efficiency; and in case of any blocking of the Suez Canal, it would be, as of old, an important resting-place for ships bound to the East, to say nothing of it being an infinitely more sanitary station for the navy than Ascension."

Finally, Mr. Spenser Wilkinson gave valuable counsel as to Parliamentary action which he thought might advantageously be taken with a view to ascertain the real reasons for the abandonment of St. Helena :

" I have carefully considered the papers you have been good enough to send me on the subject of the proposed withdrawal of the garrison from St. Helena. You propound four questions on which apparently you wish to collect the opinions of eminent military and naval authorities with a view to their publication. To none of these questions can a satisfactory answer be given unless by those whose duty it is to give strategical and other military and naval advice to His Majesty's Government. The question, for example, whether St. Helena should, or should not, have military defences cannot be considered apart from the general strategy to be adopted in case of a war between Great Britain and some other great Power or Powers, and no opinion expressed, except as part of a general plan, would be of any value. Such a plan, however, cannot be profitably made by anyone except the First Sea Lord or the Chief of the General Staff of the Army. The other three questions are concerned with details entirely depending upon the answer given to this first question. It appears to me, therefore, that no good purpose would be served by my attempting to answer any of the four questions.

" In my judgment, the subject is one to which attention might be called in the House of Commons, providing that this were done in a rational and constitutional manner. If I were a Member of Parliament, I would ask the question, ' Whether the decision of His Majesty's Government to withdraw the garrison from St. Helena was based upon proposals spontaneously made by the First Sea Lord (who is responsible for naval strategical advice) or by the Chief of the General Staff (who is responsible for military strategical advice), or was part of a project for the reduction of estimates in which these officers had eventually concurred ? ' It appears to me to be the right principle that in

matters of strategy the First Lord of the Admiralty should be guided by the suggestions of the First Sea Lord, and the Secretary of State for War by those of the Chief of the General Staff. Any decision arrived at on this method ought to have the support of Parliament. What is to be deprecated is the interference of the Treasury or of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in strategical matters."

The following correspondence has passed between the St. Helena Committee and the Colonial Office. It may be mentioned that the Bishop of St. Helena on November 7 presided over a public meeting in the island, at which it was resolved to petition the Home Government for a grant-in-aid. As Lord Elgin informed the Hon. M. Hicks Beach, M.P., in Parliament on November 8 that a saving of £35,000 had been effected by the withdrawal of the garrison, it seems not unreasonable to expect a grant to rescue the inhabitants from the ruin and starvation with which they are at present threatened.

"The St. Helena Committee,
"Caxton Hall, Westminster, London, S.W.,
"September 18, 1906.

"TO THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE, COLONIAL OFFICE,
DOWNING STREET, LONDON, S.W.

"SIR,

"I have the honour, by direction of the St. Helena Committee, to ask that you will be good enough to bring under the notice of the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies the very grave consequences which it is feared will result from the removal of the garrison from St. Helena. Already by the reduction of the numbers from 430 to 200, which took place last year, great distress had been caused, and the ranks of the unemployed have been swelled to an undue extent.

"As was stated in the petition from the islanders, dated April 9 last, they are almost entirely dependent upon the garrison for their means of subsistence, the expenditure by the Imperial Government on the maintenance of

the troops at St. Helena amounting to £17,000 per annum, or approximately two-thirds of the total amount introduced into the colony from external sources. As was pointed out by the Honourable H. J. Bovell, a member of the Executive Council of St. Helena, at the deputation which waited upon Lord Elgin in July last, while this sum represents an expenditure of only £4 per head, the circulation of the money during the course of the year is in reality equivalent to five or ten times more than that amount.

"My Committee trust that, in addition to a liberal monetary grant-in-aid to relieve the acute distress which it is anticipated will arise in consequence of the proposed withdrawal of the garrison, the Secretary of State may think fit to authorize certain steps which, in the opinion of the Committee, would prove of ultimate benefit to the Colony.

"As you are doubtless aware, various efforts have been made locally to revive the flax industry in St. Helena. These attempts have, for various reasons, met with scant success, although the fibre sent to England has been favourably reported on, the flax being valued at £32 to £33 per ton, and the aloe at £33 per ton.

"My Committee, therefore, desire me to ask that an expert may, if possible, be sent from here, or from New Zealand, to advise the local authorities as to the best method of getting this important industry started upon a sound and permanent foundation.

"A further practical remedy for the present distress is connected with the deposits of manganese ore known to exist in the colony. Here, again, expert advice is much needed, and my Committee would beg that the Secretary of State should despatch a duly qualified expert to report on the whole mineral resources of St. Helena, with a view to attract capital to the island.

"Even, however, if it be thought fit to adopt these suggestions, there still remains to be considered the unfortunate plight of those landowners who, at the direct instance of the late General Goodenough and of His

Excellency Governor Sterndale, went to very great expense in importing sheep and cattle from England to improve the island breed. As is pointed out by His Excellency Colonel Gallwey in his report for 1905, 'The removal of the larger part of the garrison, which occurred in March of the year under review (1905), must to a large extent stop the increase of cattle. There being no other market open, cattle-owners will have to restrict the breeding or they will be overstocked. The supply is already greater than the demand, and there will not be sufficient pasture for the surplus cattle.' The cattle, amounting to about 1,200 head, on the departure of the troops, must be exported or die, there being little or no local market. Under the circumstances, however, exportation would involve an almost total loss, and I am instructed to ask if the Secretary of State will, in view of the special features of the case, be pleased to authorize the purchase of these cattle, or make adequate compensation to their owners.

"Finally, my Committee wish to draw attention to the very special advantages of the climate of St. Helena, which compares favourably with that of Madeira. St. Helena being situated in the track of the south-east trade winds, the atmosphere is bracing all the year round, while the equable nature of the climate renders the island admirably suited for convalescents and invalids. The barracks, when they are no longer required by the military authorities for their present purpose, might well, in the opinion of this Committee, be utilized as a sanatorium for sick soldiers and sailors serving in West Africa. I am, therefore, to request that you will be so good as to ask the Secretary of State to be pleased to approach the Departments concerned with a view to ascertain how far it may be possible to adopt the foregoing proposals.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"(Signed) A. G. WISE,

"*Secretary, St. Helena Committee.*"

" Downing Street,
" November 2, 1906.

" SIR,

" I am directed by the Earl of Elgin to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of September 18, in which, by direction of the St. Helena Committee, attention is drawn to the consequences which, they fear, will result from the removal of the garrison from the colony.

" 2. Lord Elgin desires me to inform you that the questions raised by the Committee have received, and will continue to receive, his most careful consideration. He notes with interest that the attention of the Committee is being directed towards various possibilities of industrial development, and he hopes that the efforts which are being made to develop the natural resources of the island will be successful. He regrets that the company which was making arrangements to work the manganese deposits has not seen its way to proceed in the matter.

" 3. He thinks that it would be premature to discuss the question of a monetary grant until actual experience has been obtained of the effect of the withdrawal of the garrison on the revenue, but he is bringing to the notice of the Army Council the representations of the Committee with regard to the case of the cattle-owners.

" I am, etc.,

" (Signed) R. L. ANTROBUS.

" A. G. Wise, Esq.,

" Secretary, St. Helena Committee."

" The St. Helena Committee,
" Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W.,
" November 26, 1906.

" TO THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE, COLONIAL OFFICE.

" SIR,

" I have the honour, by direction, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2nd inst., and to ask you to be good enough to convey to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State the thanks of the St. Helena Committee

for bringing to the notice of the Army Council the case of the cattle-owners.

"In this connection I beg to enclose a list of the principal stock-owners, from which it will be seen that there are altogether about 1,200 head of cattle in the island, the value of which at a low estimate is, say, £10 (ten pounds) apiece. As was mentioned by the Honourable H. J. Bovell at the deputation which waited upon the Earl of Elgin in July, as lately as the year 1898 the late General Goodenough, R.A., commanding the troops at the Cape, held a meeting presided over by His Excellency the Governor, at which he strongly urged the inhabitants to increase their stock, with a view to render the place self-supporting in war time. The colonists, having acted on these representations, find, on the departure of the garrison, that there is no market for their cattle. Under these circumstances, the Committee trust that the Army Council may see their way to purchase the cattle, or grant adequate compensation for the losses sustained.

"My Committee desire me to point out that until the live-stock is disposed of the land cannot be used for other purposes, such as the cultivation of flax, etc., so that this matter is manifestly doubly urgent.

"Those having interests in the island are, as you are aware, very desirous of turning to advantage its natural resources. There are, however, many difficulties to contend with in starting new industries in a colony.

"Thus, with regard to the cultivation of flax, these obstacles were fully recognised by the Government of New Zealand, which has, in consequence, undertaken the duties of grading the fibre and instructing growers.

"This Committee would again urge that an expert be despatched to assist in the establishment of what may prove to be an important industry, and I am instructed to ask you to be good enough to state whether any action has been taken, or if any decision has yet been arrived at, in regard to the despatch of an expert officer from New Zealand.

"It may be mentioned that the quantity of green flax growing in the island was estimated last year at not far short of 3,000 tons, while samples of the fibre have been valued in London at £32 to £33 per ton.

"I am also to ask that a competent expert be sent to St. Helena at an early date to report fully on the economic resources of the island, and especially with reference to the manganese ore.

"I am further to invite your attention to the depletion of cash which will take place owing to the absence of a garrison, and to ask that you will be good enough to move the Secretary of State to be pleased to give instructions to His Excellency the Governor to issue drafts on London, as heretofore. The question involved is of importance to traders and others having business relations with the colony.

"I am finally to point out how very grave is the present situation in St. Helena. From information received from an absolutely trustworthy source, it appears that the finances of the colony are in so deplorable a state that repairs to the roads have had to be abandoned.

"The vital need, it is stated, and one which is daily growing in importance, is the provision of some means to tide over the interval that must elapse before an industry is established. The large number of able-bodied men out of employment is also causing general concern, and the situation generally is described as most serious and the outlook alarming.

"In this connection I am to refer to the public meeting presided over by the Bishop of St. Helena at Jamestown on the 7th inst., and to state in conclusion that those on the spot are unanimous in the belief that the only remedy is financial aid from the Imperial Government, which aid, it is held, should be given promptly, in order to allow of relief works being started as soon as possible. In view of the fact that the saving effected by the withdrawal of the troops is estimated at £35,000 a year, the St. Helena

Committee most earnestly appeal to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State to take such steps as may be deemed expedient to alleviate the pitiable condition in which these loyal and helpless British subjects have, through no fault of their own, now been reduced.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"A. G. WISE,

"Secretary, the St Helena Committee.

"NOTE.—*List of Cattle-owners:* The Hon. G. N. Moss, about 100 head; Deason Brothers, about 180; R. Short, about 50; Solomon and Company, about 450; W. A. Thorpe, about 300; total, 1,080. Also a number of others owning 10 to 15 head of cattle each. Altogether there are, approximately, 1,200 head of cattle* in St. Helena. Estimated value, say, £10 (ten pounds) per head."

Mr. J. C. Melliss, formerly Commissioner of Crown Property and Colonial Engineer in the Island of St. Helena, read a paper at a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute held on November 27 last. In an interesting address he made the following observations:

"The island in the past rendered great, invaluable service to the British Empire, which, indeed, without it would never have so successfully built up her trade or acquired her possessions abroad. The Cape was neither available nor suitable, and for two and a half centuries St. Helena served as a place of call for the great fleet of British sailing ships trading with all parts in the East, to refit and to refresh their scurvy-stricken, worn-out, and often mutinous crews, when it was impossible to make long voyages without a break. The island was now one of the important stations of the 'All-British' telegraph cable between Great Britain and her South African, Eastern, and Australasian possessions. One of the most valuable and strategic naval positions of the British Empire is placed at the mercy of any foreign Power, and a vast amount of valuable public property, including fortifications, barracks, offices, roads, and waterworks, left uncared for, to fall into ruin. The British colonists there, some 4,000 in number, including 200 whites, are also in consequence reduced to the verge of starvation, with the certain prospect of seeing their property daily degenerate more and more in value. Great Britain by this abandonment must suffer considerable loss of prestige both in the East and the South,

as well as nearer home ; and should the island fall into the hands of a hostile Power, whose garrison it could easily support for any length of time without external aid, it would be a matter of extreme difficulty and great expense, notwithstanding modern methods and weapons, to regain it, and as in time of war it would be a simple matter to block the Suez Canal and to destroy the only two other telegraph-lines, both of which pass through foreign countries, Great Britain would be completely cut off from her possessions in South Africa, the Far East, and Australasia."

EXILIC JEWISH ESCHATOLOGY: IN HOW FAR WAS IT ZOROASTRIAN.

BY PROFESSOR L. MILLS, D.D.

EVER since the study of the Zend Avesta began in Europe there have been writers who ascribed all our eschatology *en masse* to it. See Dr. Deutsch's distinguished article in the *Quarterly Review* of fifty years ago; and see also "Matter on the Logos." But this seems hardly credible in any sense of it.

We may indeed accept the critical view of the early eternal life. The only futurity, for instance, that was really original to the early pre-exilic Semitic literature was such as appertained to the existence of the Deity, being quite unlike any of our modern ideas of such a state. No man who had ever died was distinctly believed to have revived to a permanent full consciousness either in this or in the spiritual world, least of all to a permanent resuscitated body. Enoch and Elijah were merely stated to have escaped death, so partaking of that life of God which Adam and Eve would have shared, had they not fallen; see Genesis.* Miraculous resurrections such as that recorded in the Book of Kings,† etc., were but temporary revivifications to be succeeded by eventual redecease, totally dissimilar to our ideas of the risen body, while the preternatural sagacity incidentally attributed to the shade of Samuel forms the exception which proves the rule.

THE CLASSIC HADES MAY BE COMPARED.

The life of the departed soul before the exile was a shadow life, very like the classic Hades, the land where all things are forgotten.

* "Lest he put forth his hand and take of the Tree of Life, and eat and live forever."

† If, indeed, it was intended to describe more than resuscitation.

ITS CONDITIONS NOT RESULTING FROM A JUDGMENT.

Very little, if any, distinction seems to have existed as being made between the good and the evil, with scarce a thought looking toward a full personal future bodily life. Those expressions in the exilic books which seem to be pre-exilic had reference to national resurrection—that is to say, to a moral and religious revival, and were therefore figures of speech, as in the case of Ezekiel's "vision of dry bones." Separated skeletons became reunited into the former human forms representing the morally reconstituted State, though the imagery was probably derived from Persian passages which described a supposed positive resurrection of human beings.* How then could the Jews have ever freed themselves from this slough of simplicity without help from the new Exilic intellectual atmosphere, which was originally entirely foreign to them.

This emergence occurred in a very natural manner by way of interior religious development. The Exile of itself considered as an experience of national and individual calamity, and regarded solely as a process of religious spiritual discipline, was the obvious and most acutely interesting cause of it.

It already of itself considered, and entirely aside from any direct inspiration from the new intellectual atmosphere in which the Jews found themselves in Babylonia, and in the first experience of their disasters, exerted a most powerful psychic influence upon the leaders and masses of the tribes, and this as presenting a mere change in their external conditions; though with the gravest possible religious results, for it stirred the first conceptions of a future life within the minds of the Israelites by recalling them indirectly in their keen suffering to the spirit of their holy Law. The loss of

* After the exposure of the dead to the birds as a substitute for burial, the "dry bones" were roughly collected, while as the prelude to a formal resurrection "bone would join to his bone."

the Temple service made the closest attention to their Scriptures all the more a necessity, and we know that from this obvious cause the ancient books acquired an effect presumably even beyond what they possessed originally. *The national existence having been obliterated in the Conquest and Captivity, with all the domestic ruin involved, religious admonition, which had been addressed to the Nation, turned itself perforce toward the individual.* Appeals to personal conscience were made in the terms of Jeremiah and Ezekiel obviously with the most gratifying results. The previous temporal rewards and punishments for righteousness or sin having been proved through experience to be illusory, the ancient Sheol or Hades began to take on the features of the later Heaven and Hell, and even some thoughts must have begun to be experienced looking towards permanent future bodily life continued beyond the grave; and this doubtless entirely aside from any direct Persian* influence, though Persian colouring must have been borrowed. For religion, as it developed, notwithstanding the fact that it began to appeal to the awakened conscience, could not all at once shake off the earlier appeal to bodily rewards and punishments and the long-implanted hopes and fears with regard to them. When therefore men began to look toward a future life

* That sporadic ideas of a future life in a revived body must have occurred to some individual Jews before such convictions came in with a flood of other elements from the Persian lore may be also regarded as self-evident from the common experience of physicians. The dead have not only been seen in dreams in every land, and at every age, but in fever cases they are seen together with other illusions while the patient is awake. Subacute delirium is especially misleading. Here only the superficial nerves are thrown into morbid activity, generally those of vision and hearing, while the substance of the brain is not affected, and the judgment remains still clear. The patient, not aware of these common symptoms, cannot but believe his own senses, which he has always trusted, for his reason is cool. This was the case with Martin Luther, when he threw his inkstand at the Devil, and frequently heard mutterings as he sank to sleep. A throng of such-like cases present themselves in the biographies of enthusiasts. I would call attention to the extraordinary prevailing neglect of these simple but important factors in the discussion.

for those requitals which had proved illusory in this world *through the Captivity*, something like the idea of a future corporeal existence, national and even individual, must have begun to suggest itself *precisely in order that such realistic recompenses as they had so long been taught to expect might at least be fully gained. And a future bodily life* could alone afford either the receptive conditions or the implements for such experiences. A disembodied soul could not enjoy a newly rejuvenated earth.

But while such a natural development was ripening the minds of the clear-headed Israelites, these doctrines had long been both familiar and predominant in the creeds of their new Allies.

RESURRECTION AND THE FUTURE BODILY LIFE, WITH
THEIR CONCOMITANT DOCTRINES PRESENT IN THE
ORIGINAL IRANIAN LORE.

On such a point as this I think it hardly necessary for us, in the present point of our investigations, to linger, even if we should assume for a moment for the sake of argument that the earliest Avesta documents, the Gāthas, were several centuries later than they really were. This might be convenient as a strategetic movement, and would in no way affect our procedure, for they, the Gāthas, must have existed long previously in their forerunners, nor are we left with this obvious inference *a priori*; for as we have already seen, some of their main elements may be found in the Indian sister book, at an age long previous to the Exile, and far apart territorially from any possibility of contact.*

Here then are the facts—Judaism all moved with formative receptivity on the one side, and the fully developed System of Iran on the other; and in this last these ideas new to Israel had all been long since focussed in a just

* As late as Theopompus would answer our purpose, while even Herodotus may be fully accepted as describing later Avestic particulars.

perspective and completely established in accepted dogmas. Here, therefore, was the overwhelming influence of a mighty State-religion dominant in the great Empire* of which they, the Israelites, had become in a sense citizens, or at least, of course, the subjects, dating their public acts from the beginnings and from the annals of the Persian reigns. What wonder that the religion of this great concentration of nationalities helped on the Jewish creed. The *Old Sheol*, already in process of transformation, all at once assumed the forms of the full Persian eschatology.

A *Resurrection*, if not absolutely universal, supervened upon the first rudimental ideas of it, and appeared with all the colouring of the Zend Avesta. There was to be a *Judgment* quite forensic, as we have it in the later Parsism based upon Avesta where the full details have perished. "A new heaven and a new earth" were to appear "wherein should dwell righteousness," according to familiar Avestic terms, extinguishing as with a blaze of light every trace of other ancient endings.

The *Angelology* of the oldest Scriptures, which was nearly as dim as their *Sheol*, became occupied with such figures as a *Michael* and a *Gabriel*, while the number "*Seven*,"

* Surely those who very properly are doing their best to array all the possibilities of Babylonian influence upon the Jews will, in moments of reflection, accede to the extraordinary difference in the vital forces of the two sources of influence, the Babylonian and the Persian, at least, from the date of the capture of Babylon, or, indeed, as a matter of psychic power quite apart from the question of the time when it began to operate. Babylonian or Chaldean influence was, as I freely admit, so powerful at the very earliest periods that it would seem almost to coincide with the thing influenced: if Abram really came from Ur of the Chaldees.

A very different question, however, presents itself when we examine the exilic period. Why is it so little mentioned that Babylonian influence became Persian from the capture of the city? see, however, Jastrow. And what of the Persian faith itself regarded as the creed of populations. The inscriptions proved to redundancy that the cult of Auramazda was not only spread over all Iran, but that it possessed enormous practical and political influence. As a mere psychic force it totally overwhelmed at that time all that was Semitic outside of Israel. In fact, what cult was so effective, and served by such hordes of priests for such multitudes of worshippers all over Iranian Asia?

as attached to them, is as conspicuous as it is significant.*

And perhaps even more marked than all became *the person of the Devil*. "Satan" ceased to remain a general term, and became a proper name. In Job, at the introduction, he appears among the Angels of God.

But his sinister attitude does not remain long concealed. He is soon recognised as the "*God of this world*," almost a complete counterpart of *Angra Mainyu*, bereft alone of independence; see above. The *Demonology* as expressed in demoniacal possession and dispossession is very striking; cf. the Christian gospels.

The world periods are four in Daniel as they are in the later Zoroastrianism, repeating earlier lost documents; and this has struck others as worth mentioning; but in the later Judaism—i.e., in Christianity, "*Satan is bound a Thousand Years*," and so in the later Parsism, reflecting earlier tenets† he is restrained.

The Temptation of Eve seems to me to be devoid of all colour from the light of Parsism, but that of *Zarathushtra* bears the very strongest analogy to that of *Jesus*.

The *distinction of Clean and Unclean* in Leviticus seems to be almost a part of the *Vendidad*,‡ where it alone receives its explanation.§

Idol-worship is nowhere so severely reprehended as in each, and the same may be said of *Sorcery*.

Even the doctrines of *Soteriology* seem to have been

* The most prominent particular of the kind in the entire Zoroastrian creeds carrying with it immense influence probably over all North Persian Asia. A dim sevenfold of planets and of angels is also reported from the Babylon tablets; but what comparison does this bear with the vastly extended Iranian system in days when literature had abandoned clay for a better material, each of the seven names having its counterpart in the early Vedas?

† In the millennium of *Libra* he is freed for 1,000 years, after having been restrained. See "*The Bundahish XXXI.*"

‡ Recall the *Nasus* and the rules for purification.

§ Some of the animals called "unclean" seem excellent enough, and a reason for their extinction is only clearly given when it was said that the Devil made them.

affected, for, as apocalyptic hopes led on the soul to bear the evils of existence in view of restoration, millennial or final, which were Persian thoughts, a *Messiah* became expected. And so in Parsism the Saoshyant is to help bring on the great result; and this concept pressed forward too the Jewish hope; the first was even expected to be *Virgin-born* as was the last.

The "*Fire*" in each became still more a symbol of spiritual purity, and altars burned with sacrifices in each religions system.

The "*Seven Candlesticks*" recall Zoroastrian imagery,* while on each side a hierarchy prevailed, some priests of the Jews possessing princely rank, as did a Persian dynasty.† Each religion was a religion of written books, and who can say *which had here priority*; and each, whether by intention, conquest, or migration, carried its tenets far and wide. Greek ideas doubtless mingled with the Hebrew and the Persian views, while Assyriology and Babylon had doubtless their share of influence. But the Persian system came in like spring-tide and flooded everything. Shall we then say that Christianity in its bare outline was the result of both, with its vast conquests over the habitable globe. Many a cold-blooded witness would at once assert as much.

Regarded as *literature* indeed, the Jewish went far beyond its rival, though using that rival's principles; except in its great framework the Zoroastrian pales before the other. Job, Isaiah, Daniel, the Apocalypse surpass our utmost efforts at appreciation, while the drama of the crucifixion, with its antecedents, its main action, and its close, seems quite unspeakably magnificent. It should be regarded as a most solemn as well as a most distinguished privilege of Parsism that it helped on, if it did not give the very keynote, to some of the sublimest passages in religious literature which the earth has ever seen.

* See elsewhere for a throng of illustrative analogies.

† The house of Sasan, which claimed priestly blood.

THE ONE INAPPROACHABLE EXCEPTION.

As regards its influence upon doctrine, we must, however, make one altogether isolated claim for Israel, and this concerning the matter now just last mentioned, which became at once the very central circumstance in the Christian system, and one which is not only absolutely apart from Persian ideas, but contrary to them, and arising spontaneously from the late Semitic cult. *Where is the religion that ever emerged from obscurity which offered its very God as a sacrifice partaking of the sorrows of the creatures whom He had brought into being?*

Nothing Persian and nothing Babylonian can approach this "holy of all holies" in its remotest precinct. As to the other elements, however, even proceeding to much subordinate detail, grand as they are quite apart from the inapproachable conclusion, they would never have existed at all but for the Jewish, nor would they have been what they are aside from the Persian. Surely Avesta in its sister schemes and in its sources, if our careful reasoning has not been utterly at fault, conferred upon the great Christian Church of all ages the utmost conceivable benefit, since but for its priestly King, the great "Restorer," who was animated by Avesta lore or by its sources directly or indirectly, our Jesus the Christ would not have been born in Bethlehem, nor would He have agonized in Gethsemane nor met His end on Golgotha!*

* See for more extended detail "Zarathushtra, Philo, the Achæmenids and Israel," pp. 460 + xxvii, 1906, being University Lectures, by L. H. Mills. To be had through Oxford booksellers and of F. A. Brockhaus, Leipzig; price 13 shillings.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

AT a meeting of the East India Association, held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Tuesday afternoon, November 6, a paper was read by Navroz M. Parveez, Esq., on "Indo-British Trade with Persia,"* Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., presiding. There were present amongst others: Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., Sir Curzon Wyllie, K.C.I.E., Mr. T. Hart-Davies, M.P., Mr. John Pollen, C.I.E., LL.D., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L., Mr. Theodore Morison, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. H. J. Bhabha (Chief Educational Officer, Mysore), Mr. L. W. Ritch, Mr. M. K. Gandhi, Mr. H. O. Ally (delegates from the Transvaal), Mr. S. Digby, Mr. Alexander Rogers, Mr. Frank Birdwood, Mr. and Mrs. D. J. Tata, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Mr. Victor Corbet, Mr. Shakir Ali, Mr. H. R. Cook, Miss A. Smith, Mr. D. R. T. Narinun, Mr. N. M. Cooper, Mr. H. D. Cama, Mr. A. Wendell Jackson, Mr. C. A. Latif, Mr. A. H. Khudadad Khan, Miss Sansom, Mr. F. J. D. Framjee, Mr. H. Roemer, Mr. I. T. Bhumgara, Count Blucher, Mr. Rustomji Faridoonji, Mr. K. A. Bhojvain, Mr. Dosabhoy Framje, Mr. K. E. J. Sanjana, Mr. John Andrew Lee, Miss Chapman Hand, Mr. Q. T. Husain, Mr. C. Kern, Mr. C. Martin, Mr. C. E. D. Black, Mr. A. W. Perriman, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN in introducing the lecturer said: Ladies and gentlemen, I beg to introduce to you the lecturer of to-day, Mr. Navroz M. Parveez, well known in Bombay and Western India, who has in the course of his commercial life travelled a great deal in various parts of Persia, and who is going to read us what, I think, will prove to be a very interesting paper, though I may say that there are one or two points on which I shall hereafter venture to somewhat differ from the lecturer. The paper is an exceedingly interesting one, and there needs no excuse in the East India Association for a lecture on Persia, seeing that day by day and year by year we are more closely connected with Persia, and we trust that that connection will grow more and more, and be more profitable to both countries. (Hear, hear.)

MR. NAVROZ M. PARVEEZ then proceeded to read the paper.

MR. HART-DAVIES, M.P., said he had listened to the paper with great interest. The future of Persia seemed to him in all probability to be that the North of Persia would be practically abandoned to the Russians, and the South of Persia would be more or less handed over to British trade. That would probably be the result of the negotiations that were going on at present between the Russian and English Governments. Sir Edward Grey that afternoon had been asked a question about it in the House of Commons, but like a wise man he had not said much—in fact, nothing at

* See Paper elsewhere in this *Review*.

all. It was over twenty years since he (Mr. Hart-Davies) had been in Persia, but even then there were no English goods to be seen in the North of Persia, and hardly any Russian goods south of Ispahan. Therefore, no doubt some sort of arrangement would be come to with Russia that the British sphere of influence should be in the south and the Russian in the north, and that would be very satisfactory. Where the German sphere of influence would be would have to be left to them to settle. He should like to have heard the lecturer speak about the route by the river Karun, because, although it was not mentioned in the paper, that would be a matter of very great importance for Indian trade. Nor was there much said about it in Mr. Newcomen's report as far as he had read it. The Indian Government appeared to have treated Mr. Newcomen badly, for they did not pay him any of his expenses, and consequently Mr. Newcomen had been involved in considerable loss. A question had been asked in the House of Commons whether the Indian Government would consider the advisability of doing something for Mr. Newcomen, but they said it was a purely private matter; it was managed by the Chamber of Commerce, Cawnpore, and Mr. Morley did not see his way to take any action at all. He thought the Government ought to have encouraged a man like Mr. Newcomen, because his report had been of great value to Indian trade, and it could hardly be expected that people would carry on national business on those lines without any recognition from their Government. (Applause.)

MR. NASARVANJI MANECKJI COOPER (editor of the *Parsi Chronicle*) said: When Major Percy Molesworth Sykes, H.B.M.'s Consul-General and Agent to the Government of India at Khorasan, remarked in the course of his lecture on "The Parsis of Persia" at the Society of Arts last May that the Parsis of Bombay plainly told him that they feared the dangers and hardships of Persian travel, and wondered if they had all become so soft by a surfeit of prosperity, he little knew that there was a Parsi who had already travelled in spite of all hardships and privations through unknown and unbeaten tracks of Persia and through treeless and waterless deserts accompanied by a large number of armed men with tents and camels for transport of luggage and other necessities of life. During the time Mr. Navroz Parveez travelled in Persia he was attacked about half a dozen times by Afghan-Persian brigands, and always escaped without injury by Divine mercy and the use of his wits. He has penetrated through such desolate parts of Persia as no other Parsi, and for the matter of fact no other Indian, has done before. It shows what a Parsi can do when once he makes up his mind to achieve an object. His lecture also shows that he has not only travelled, but has travelled with a purpose, observing and learning, and the result of that observation is the instructive and interesting lecture of this evening. Facilities for travel bring every year a number of my countrymen to this country, but I am sorry to say that many of them only travel for pleasure. When in London they visit the principal theatres and restaurants, spend a few evenings at some of the music-halls, perhaps go to Earl's Court or the Crystal Palace and then think they have seen London. But ask them if they have visited the Houses of

Parliament, or the British Museum, or the National Gallery, or the Tower of London, or the house in Wine-Office Court where Dr. Samuel Johnson wrote the first dictionary of the English language, and they would remark, "Oh, these could be seen some other time." But to such I say, do what Mr. Parveez has done, observe and learn as he has observed and learnt.

With regard to Mr. Parveez's scheme of colonization, I believe it is possible to do so under proper organization. The Parsis of Persia are hard-working and honest, and, in the words of Mr. S. Benjamin, late Minister of the United States of America to Persia, "there are no keener tradesmen than the genuine Iranees; their commercial ability is well displayed by the large fortunes accumulated by the Parsi traders of Bombay, who are Persians pure and simple." As the lecturer suggests, the process of colonization in Seistan must be gradual. To do so, capital is needed. It can easily be supplied by our wealthy people in Bombay and other parts of India. I see in this hall faces which remind me of the wealthy and philanthropic Petits, the Tatas, and the Wadias of Bombay, and the Cavasji Dinshah Bros. of Aden, and to them and others we must look for support. A small tract of land should first be purchased and placed in the possession of our Persian co-religionists under proper supervision. Dwellings should be built, and the colonists should be supplied with the latest types of implements. A regular banking firm should be established in the colony having facilities for doing business in other parts of the world. The question naturally arises, What things could be profitably cultivated on the soil? First, I would suggest tobacco, which could easily be cultivated in Persia. Seeds should be procured from Virginia and such other parts of the United States of America. A large quantity of tobacco grown in Persia is for years past exported to Turkey, and with profit. Opium, also, could be profitably cultivated if exported to China through the agency of the banking firm in the colony. Then, taking advantage of the large consumption of wines in Europe and other parts of the world, the colonists should enter into the task of preparing and exporting Persian wines. If products grown in the colony are purchased for cash by the banking firm at fair market prices, a number of our co-religionists would be found willing to go and settle there. Of course, in the beginning great difficulties will arise, but the scheme is sure to be successful in the end. Without the help of Indian Parsis, nothing can be done to ameliorate the circumstances of the Iranee Parsis.

Mr. Parveez says there is much dishonesty in the methods of the Persian trader. It may be so or not, but the Persian trader is not the only dishonest one in the world. Perhaps he is slow in discharging his obligations, but I have heard and read that he always pays and pays to the last farthing. The East always moves so slowly, but the East also is awakening.

The lecturer also refers to the corrupt and unprogressive character of the Persian administration. Whether his statement is correct or not I am unable to say. I hold no brief for the Persian Government, but just at the very moment when the Persian Government have conferred such a great boon on the Parsis of Persia by electing one of their distinguished

members as their representative to the new Persian Duma, I declare, and I hope I am expressing the sentiments of other Parsis present in this meeting, that policy and forethought would have suggested to any Parsi, and no less to the lecturer, the wisdom of refraining from making such remarks against the Government of a country with which we ought to remain on friendly terms—if for nothing else, at least for the sake of our co-religionists in that distant land. If there is corruption in the administration of Persia, it is not the only country which suffers from that cause. We often hear of corruption in the States, in Germany, in Russia, and even sometimes in this civilized land. Have we not heard and read of the South African war scandals? and pray, what about the disgraceful management of the Poplar Guardians? The present Shah-in-Shah, like his illustrious father, is always anxious for the good of his subjects, and particularly evinces a deep interest in the welfare of his Zoroastrian subjects. Of him it could be said in the words of the poet:

"Deep on his front engraven
Deliberation sat and public care."

We Parsis ought to feel a deep concern for the success of the experiment which His Majesty the Shah-in-Shah has with such rare foresight inaugurated. In the attainment of that success is involved the guarantee of Persia's future prosperity and independence, and—need I tell you?—the prosperity also of our co-religionists there. God grant that under the just and benign rule of the great Shah our co-religionists may be for ever happy and prosperous.

SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD said he had listened to the paper read by Mr. N. M. Parveez with much instruction and great admiration. It was the paper of a man who formed his views and opinions independently and on personal observation, and who had the courage of his convictions. In that way it was a notable paper, and did Mr. Parveez infinite credit. Of course he was prepared for adverse criticism of his own unflinching censures of all and sundry persons and things. He would only remark on the comparison drawn by Mr. Parveez between the Russian Bank at Teheran and the English Imperial Bank, very much to the blame of the latter, that the English Bank was conducted on strictly banking principles, whereas the Russian Bank had been established and endowed as a State institution, and means for the furtherance of the political objects of Russia in Persia. But their chairman, Sir Lepel Griffin, was well able to defend the Imperial Bank, of which also he was the chairman. The attack of Mr. Parveez on the British Consular Service in Persia he understood to be an attack on the system under which it was worked by us, and not a personal attack on our Consuls themselves. Mr. Parveez has emphatically expressed his gratitude to them for their personal consideration and kindness, and they deserved this acknowledgment at his hands. One could quite understand that he had given them at times much trouble, and they had obviously been most friendly and helpful to him. As to our consular methods in Persia, it could not be forgotten that Persia is not in any large sense a commercial country, and that its chief importance to us hitherto has been the fact of its lying between our Indian Empire and the Russian

Empire—an easy prey to either of us, but for fear of the other. In these circumstances it was natural that our Consuls in Persia should for the present be military officers. But the time is certainly approaching when we shall have to introduce the commercial element with our Consular Service in Persia. Turning next to the scheme proposed by Mr. Parveez for the colonization of the fertile margins of the Helmund with Iranian Parsis from Yezd and elsewhere in Persia, and under the auspices of the Indian Parsis of the Bombay Presidency—this undoubtedly was an idea to be welcomed by all students of the history of ancient Persia, and all lovers of the Parsi race. It cheered one, and filled one with hope for the future of both the Indian and Iranian Parsis, that such an idea should have spontaneously arisen in the mind of one who is himself a Parsi. It shows that the Parsis of Western India are beginning, and fortunately there are many other indications of the fact, to appreciate their glorious past; that they are, in short, gradually recovering their ethnical and national inner consciousness, and taking a pride in the reassertion of their great historical personality. But for the present this project for the agricultural development of Seistan by planting it with a colony of Parsis must be regarded rather as a philanthropic than an economic adventure. Persian agricultural produce under the most favourable conditions will not bear the costs of more than ten marches to the markets for it, and there would not be any markets of importance within ten days' march of the suggested Parsi settlers on the banks of the Helmund. What, however, had above all else in the paper before them interested him (Sir George Birdwood) was that so vast and dangerous an explorative travel should have ever been faced and carried through by an Indian Parsi. It was an immense adventure, and all its purposes had been most successfully achieved. This was truly wonderful to anyone who knew the love of ease, and the strong sense of the enjoyment of a safe, and quiet, and comfortable life, so characteristic of the Parsis of Western India; and it filled one with the highest hopes for their future in the emphatic demonstration it provided, that not only in intelligence and wit, in capacity for business and social charm, and in charity and philanthropy, all the Parsis of Bombay are worthy of their heroic forefathers, but that when put to the trial (of which they seldom or never have a fair opportunity under the enervating and emasculating *pax Britannica*) they all found their equals still in their stout courages, and generous valours, and all others of their virile virtues. This was what had been so gladdening and grateful to him (Sir George Birdwood) in the valuable and most inspiring paper with which they had been favoured by Mr. N. M. Parveez.

The CHAIRMAN said: I would first refer to one or two points that have been touched on by former speakers. Mr. Hart-Davies has very justly said that sufficient circulation has not been given to the report of Mr. Gleadowe-Newcomen, which is exceedingly valuable, and which is rather difficult to procure. When we wrote for it to the India Office, we were referred back in the usual style of the Circumlocution Office to India. We were not allowed to purchase a single copy from the India Office, but had to send to Calcutta, and then to Cawnpore, and at last

did get a copy of a report which should have been sent by the Government to every Chamber of Commerce in India and to every Chamber of Commerce in England. (Applause.) No merchant in England can understand the conditions of the trade of Persia, or the opportunities which are now offered to him without a perusal of that report. I do not know anything about the reward or the praise which Mr. Newcomen may have got, but I do say that his report should have been sent out by the Government and circulated everywhere. (Hear, hear.)

The second point where I think Mr. Parveez is open to some objection in his most interesting lecture is in the criticisms which he has passed on the British Consular Service. Now, I know a good deal about Persia, and I say from a very intimate knowledge stretching over some sixteen or seventeen years that of the Consuls appointed by His Majesty's Government in Persia a large proportion certainly are military officers attached to the Indian political service who have had a diplomatic though not a commercial training, and have done their work exceedingly well. I could mention many of them, such as Colonel Trench, of Seistan and Meshed; Colonel Stewart, of Tabriz; Colonel Sykes, whose name is familiar to you; Mr. Preece, of Isfahan, and Colonel Kemball at Bushire, who have not had a commercial training, but who have done everything they could to forward British interests and trade in Persia. As to the idea that Russian Consuls are in any way superior in character or training to the British Consuls, I think it erroneous. It is a mistake of our amiable friend the lecturer, and if he knew these Consuls as well as I do he would not have made it; and besides, his general statement is really contradicted by himself when he speaks in the early part of his lecture of the great assistance he has received from so many of these excellent officers. (Hear, hear.)

Then there is another point with regard to the Imperial Bank of Persia, of which I have been the chairman for some years. I would only say this to Mr. Parveez, that his observations are reasonable from the point of view of the trader or merchant. Mr. Parveez is a merchant, I am a banker, and we look upon the question from an entirely different point of view. He has given you in this very interesting paper a description of the modern Persian—of his inability to realize that any debt must be paid at the appointed time, and that he avoids paying it at all if he can find any possible way of escaping from doing so. This being the case, I must invite our lecturer to believe that the Imperial Bank of Persia, which tries to pay satisfactory dividends to a great body of shareholders, must elect to follow the traditional lines on which banking is carried on in all well-managed banks in England, and all British banks abroad, and not follow methods which may be more agreeable to the trader, but less profitable to the banker. As to the Russian *Banque d'Escompte*, you will understand that etiquette prevents me from criticizing its methods. They may be excellent in their way, but Russian finance and English finance are different things, and follow different lines, and we who desire to look to the profit and security of our shareholders must consider that we do that successfully when the results are as they have been in the past.

As you are aware—and this is a point, to my mind, of exceeding importance—the present Government in carrying out those sentiments of international friendship which so eminently inspired Lord Lansdowne's administration, is endeavouring to come to a peaceful and friendly arrangement with Russia with reference to various disputed questions in the East. This is infinitely to their credit, and I have no doubt that Sir Edward Grey will be eventually successful in what he is attempting to do. At any rate, so far what has been made public is that some steps have been taken for a friendly arrangement with Russia in Persian affairs, and certain sums of money have been jointly advanced by the two Governments to help Persia out of her immediate difficulties. Whether this will be followed by larger joint loans, or whether any arrangement will be made of other questions which are kindred to this, I cannot say, and I should not be justified in saying, without the permission of the Foreign Office, even if I knew; but it is a great thing to have taken the first step towards a friendly agreement (Hear, hear), and I have great hope, and I may say I have some confidence that this arrangement will be confirmed. Better days are going to dawn for Russia—there can be no doubt of that—when these troubles, which are now so prominent, have passed away; and I think that a friendly settlement with England is one of those conditions which will be most likely to bring about a general and favourable result in Russia and in the East (Hear, hear), and help to insure the peace of the world.

Lastly, with regard to Mr. Parveez's excellent suggestion about the economical regeneration of Seistan. This country, Mr. Parveez considers, may be with great advantage settled by the Persian Parsees. If this could be done, no doubt it would be a very good thing; but I cannot think, knowing the Parsis so well, that a residence in Seistan would at all suit the Parsi temperament. Seistan, in spite of the inherent virtues of its soil as described by Sir Henry McMahon, is one of the most undesirable places on the globe, where the temperature very often in the summer remains at 120 degrees for weeks together, and when you can do nothing whatever except lie on the floor on your back and gasp. This will not suit the Parsis, who are very fond of all the civilized enjoyments of life. I think it would be as difficult to persuade them to settle in Seistan as it is to persuade the Jews to go back to Jerusalem, or Englishmen to settle in the Transvaal.

I think we are very much indebted to Mr. Parveez for his interesting and suggestive lecture (Hear, hear), and I only trust he will excuse my having with some warmth repudiated any aspersion on the character and attainments of the British Consuls in Persia. I quite understand that it may be possible to more highly train our Consuls in commercial matters, and it will be a very good thing if that is done; but at present they are accomplished and devoted men, and the trade route between Quetta and Nasertabad, which has not yet been very successful, but which will be the route of the future—and we shall hear a great deal more about it before the world is much older—was created by these political officers, who are not surpassed by any other officers in Persia in ability and devotion to their duties.

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN desired to cordially associate himself with the observations of the Chairman as to the very interesting paper they had heard. He thought it was remarkable not only for being so interesting, but for the great modesty with which Mr. Parveez had dealt with the subject. (Hear, hear.) He rather objected to that great modesty which Mr. Parveez had shown in having told so little about his personal adventures. Generally when they had travellers from unknown regions they heard a great deal about the travellers, even more than about the country. He should have liked very much to have heard a little more about the personal experience of Mr. Parveez, and perhaps in replying on the discussion Mr. Parveez would tell them something about his adventures, because he was sure they must all have been impressed by the wonderful enterprise and courage that gentleman had shown by travelling in these remote and dangerous places. Then he would also be glad to hear a little more about the geographical position of the Iranian Parsis, where Mr. Parveez had met with them mostly, whether it would be practically possible to collect them in this suggested colony, and whether they were in any way organized, or under leaders who would be able to take the leadership in an enterprise of the kind suggested, which would require a great deal of organization and personal influence to make it a success. Then probably he would tell them the reason why he particularizes Seistan as the place he would consider most suitable. With reference to the Consuls, there was one point that Mr. Parveez had drawn attention to which they could not object to, and that was the insufficient salaries they got. If they wanted to get Consuls with special qualifications, and to train themselves in commercial matters, they must be paid properly; but for the opening out of a country men were wanted, in the first instance, more of the political and military temperament who would arrange matters. Probably the time had now come when the commercial element should be more developed in the Consular Service, and no doubt if proper salaries were offered the men would be forthcoming.

DR. JOHN POLLEN said he would like to say a word in appreciation of the paper they had listened to. Although he did not, from personal knowledge, know anything about Persia, he knew something about it from having studied its language and literature, and having dwelt for many years on the borders of Persia, and he also knew a little about Russia and Russian ways. He intended to follow the very judicious lead of Sir George Birdwood, and not allude in any way but respectfully to the Imperial Bank of Persia, but he could not help thinking that perhaps in some of the remarks the Chairman had made in drawing the distinction between the point of view from which a merchant looked at affairs and a banker looked at affairs, a slur was implied on the administration of the bank over which he presided. He threw that out as a possible solution of the attitude taken up by the Chairman in defending the Consuls, but he (Dr. Pollen) thought that Mr. Parveez was quite right. It was not at all desirable that they should have military men as Consuls. Their training was not suitable, and though they might have served in certain departments of the Government of India, it did not necessarily imply that they were thoroughly acquainted with all

the ins and outs of commercial enterprise. He thought that Russia was in that respect far superior in her selection to represent her in commercial matters of suitable and proper representatives. They had been wise enough to translate from Bombay to Kerman one of the best of their Consuls, who had sucked the brains of all the Bombay merchants in order to undertake what he had to do. Had they anybody to correspond with him at the present moment? No doubt there were very able officers who did their best to help travellers, and in that respect they were quite the equals, if not the superiors, of the Russians; but he thought there was an opportunity for an improvement, at any rate, in the quality of consular officers in Persia. However, his object in rising had been not to discuss, but to compliment, the lecturer on the admirable paper he had contributed, and he trusted they would be favoured on a future occasion with a further sample of his powers in that respect. (Applause.)

On the motion of the CHAIRMAN, seconded by MR. THORNTON, a vote of thanks was unanimously accorded to Mr. Navroz Parveez for his interesting paper.

COLONEL YATE wrote to the Hon. Secretary as follows: "I shall not be able to be present at Mr. Parveez's lecture on the 6th inst., owing to an engagement in the country, but I have read the advance copy of his lecture with interest. I agree with much that Mr. Parveez says, and I entirely concur with him in his remarks on the 'dishonesty in the methods of the Persian trader.' He does well in the warning that he gives regarding 'the abnormally long credit system current in Persia; the existence of sanctuary as a means of immunity from the discharge of rightful claims, and the absence of facilities for legal redress.'

"That the balance of foreign trade is so largely against Persia is due, I think, to a certain extent to Persian laws and regulations. The prohibition of the export of wheat is one instance. Wheat, I believe, might be produced in much greater quantities than it is at present was there only a market for it, and the exportation of wheat, if permitted, would do much to restore the balance of trade.

"I do not agree with Mr. Parveez in thinking that this adverse balance of trade 'could be quickly wiped out if proper attention was paid to the mineral resources of the country,' which he says 'abound, especially in the East and North of Persia.' That in ancient days such resources existed I admit, but my experience is, and I think it has been the experience of the various people who have obtained concessions to exploit the country, that the ancient mines are worked out, and there is little to be obtained now in either the East or North of Persia. That oil may be found in paying quantities in the South and West of Persia is a possibility that offers a much more favourable chance.

"Mr. Parveez, in describing his travels, talks of the country between Nushki and Seistan as 'shelterless.' That is an entirely erroneous description of the trade-route there, which is provided with rest-houses at every stage on the road. No traveller can now complain of want of shelter, and the Government of India and the local political officers of the district deserve all praise for the money and labour respectively that they have

expended in the construction of these rest-houses under such difficult local conditions.

"Mr. Parveez speaks of the 'kind officers and friendship' of three able and energetic military Consular officers, but then proceeds to declaim against the British Consuls in Persia as a whole, who, he says, are 'mostly military men, not only lacking business training but despising all that relates to commerce.' In this I join issue with Mr. Parveez entirely. No body of men could have worked harder to foster trade with Persia than have the Indian Political Service military consular officers in that country, and I should like to know where our Seistan trade would have been now had it not been for the patient and persistent labours of these military Consuls in Seistan, who had the whole force of Russian consular intrigue and Belgian Customs officers' wanton obstruction to contend against. The labours of the military Consuls at Meshed and Kerman also are well known.

"I admit that at seaports where shipping is the principal thing to be dealt with a Consular Service officer specially trained to this work has an advantage, and this has been recognised and put into practice at Busreh, and also, I believe, at Bushire in the Persian Gulf; but for the interior of Persia the Indian Political Service Consul has many advantages, and I not only hope to see these officers retained there, but also increased in numbers. Mr. Parveez, however, not only charges these officers with 'despising all that relates to commerce,' but he goes even further, and says that 'there are occasions when our Consuls not only refuse information to British subjects, but treat them with calculated and patent discourtesy.' Mr. Parveez in making this statement presumably is speaking from his own personal experience, and I should like to hear the other side of the story."

MR. PARVEEZ'S REPLY, WRITTEN AFTER THE PERUSAL OF THE
DISCUSSION AND LETTER FROM COLONEL YATE.

MR. N. M. PARVEEZ writes: I must first express my thanks for the appreciative references made in the discussion to the enterprise and public spirit attributed to me in undertaking so prolonged a tour in the dominions of the Shah-in-Shah, and for the conclusions favourable to my race drawn therefrom by Sir George Birdwood and other speakers. The remarks made in this connection are in themselves a reply to Sir Lepel Griffin's criticism that the Bombay Parsis are too self-indulgent and ease-loving to be ready to participate in the scheme of colonization in Seistan I unfolded. The Parsis are not alone in making full and appreciative use of the amenities of modern civilization. The same can be said, for example, of the English people. But as with the one race, so with the other—there are men who will readily sacrifice their ease and comfort to do the work of pioneers when occasion arises. Under the protecting care of the British Government the Bombay Parsis have done and are doing much to develop the economic and industrial resources of India. May not as much be expected of them if the opportunity is afforded in the land of Jamshid and of Rustam? And, after all, as I indicated in the lecture, the loss of amenities of civili-

zation by the colonists would not be so great as some speakers supposed. At worst it would diminish in extent as time went on, for, as Sir Henry McMahon has so graphically shown, systematic cultivation would tend to ultimately win back for the province the climatic and other advantages formerly enjoyed and now denied her by offended Nature. Sir George Birdwood was altogether in error in his qualification of general approval of the scheme that markets for the produce of the colony do not exist within the remunerative zone. As a matter of fact, there are several large distributing centres within four or five days' march of the most suitable areas for colonization. Moreover, under the operation of the economic law of supply following demand, the colonists would create markets of their own. Sir W. Wedderburn's inquiry whether some other Persian race might not do equally well as colonists can be answered emphatically in the negative. The Parsis are a race apart in the life and religion of Persia, and at the same time they possess the confidence and trust of the two Powers which have most to gain from the success of any such experiment—the Persian and the Indo-British Governments.

The suggestion that my co-religionists in Persia may suffer because I have joined my testimony to that of every well-known traveller in Persia, in criticising the administration of the country as corrupt and unprogressive, is scarcely deserving of consideration. Even had I desired to conceal my real opinions on this matter, no advantage would be served, for the facts as to Persian misgovernment are far too well established upon indisputable authority to be in the slightest degree shaken by my silence. Nor could I have spoken on Indo-British trade to any advantage had considerations for my co-religionists stood in the way of my stating what I conceive to be the chief and fundamental obstacle to trade progress in the Persian Empire. Indeed, it never occurred to me to regard the Persian Government in so sinister and ungenerous a light as that which my critic employs, for there underlies his criticism the idea that the Persian authorities are despicable enough to make the Parsis of Yezd and Kerman suffer in some unexplained way because I have made public reference to a fact known to everyone. And if they are to suffer for my few words, what will be their lot as a consequence of the lecture given expressly in their interests last May by Colonel Molesworth Sykes, who drew a harrowing picture of the cruel misgovernment from which in the past the Persian Zoroastrians have suffered? My tone throughout was one of sympathetic interest in and support of the movement towards more progressive and enlightened administration. The movement and the resulting formation of the National Council are in themselves the most convincing testimony we could have of the crying need for reform.

My opinions on the British Consular Service have drawn forth emphatic controversion from Sir Lepel Griffin, and a spirited defence of military officers in consular employment from Colonel Yate. Both gentlemen seem to have overlooked the fact that I attacked our consular system and the mode of recruitment, rather than the men by whom it is carried out. Sir Lepel Griffin has, no doubt, had much experience of our consular officers in connection with the Imperial Bank of Persia, but I am not

aware that he has ever travelled extensively in the country in circumstances enabling him to see for himself what really goes on. Colonel Yate speaks for a service of which he himself has been a most distinguished member, and is certainly to be included among the exceptions to the average low standard of interest in commercial progress of whom I spoke. But it is the outsider who sees most of the game, and I venture to think that the independent conclusions of the Indian Commercial Mission, which I quoted and endorsed, have a weight attaching to them in this regard which even Colonel Yate's remarks do not possess. Moreover, I had the support of able administrators like Sir William Wedderburn and Dr. John Pollen in the arguments I advanced against filling up the consulates with officers knowing little and caring less about commerce. In my lecture I expressed the heartiest gratitude to the consular officers to whose kind assistance I owed so much; and I thought I made it clear that my criticisms were based not on my own experiences as a traveller, but on those of British Indians and others regularly engaged in Persian trade, with whom I have from time to time come into contact, both in and out of Persia.

In another matter, that of the facilities afforded by the Imperial Bank of Persia, my view-point was somewhat misinterpreted. Sir Lepel Griffin suggested inconsistency on my part by contrasting my appeal for better facilities for business men with my remarks as to the dishonesty of the Persian trader. But in supporting the plea of the Commercial Mission that the Bank should be "somewhat more accommodating in its methods of transacting business" I was speaking, not for the Persian trader, but for his British and Indian contemporaries, as is indicated by the observation that in this way a considerable expansion of British and Indian business might be secured. The claim of the distinguished chairman that the Imperial Bank of Persia exists primarily to the interests of its shareholders is, of course, indisputable. There is the banker's point of view and there is the trader's point of view, as Sir Lepel Griffin said. But in this case the interests of both are served by the progress of commercial intercourse between Persia and India, and I must confess I was rather surprised to hear Sir Lepel Griffin draw the somewhat sharp distinction he did between the interests of his bank and those of its present or potential clients. In the main those interests are identical, and the prosperity of Indo-British trade means the prosperity of the Imperial Bank.

More than one speaker supported my view as to the somewhat chilling experience Mr. Gleadowe-Newcomen has had of the official attitude towards commercial men seeking to investigate trade prospects for the general benefit. I was pleased to be in a position to mention, on high authority, that the absence of recognition by the State of the disinterested and strenuous services of the mission is at last to be remedied. I can endorse the statement of the Chairman as to the difficulty in obtaining copies of the Report of the Mission, for I myself was put to considerable inconvenience in this respect. Mr. Hart-Davies, who has interested himself in Parliament in the question of public recognition of Mr. Gleadowe-Newcomen's services, asked about the Karun River route. This route gives our trade in the

more northern parts of the country a gain of five or six days in comparison with the older routes. The roads are fairly good and the bridges are well made. The chief drawback is that part of the route runs through the district where are chiefly congregated Becktiaris, those picturesque brigands of whom I spoke. I believe, however, that some arrangement has been made to compound with them by the payment of an annual subsidy, whereby they are in honour bound to keep their hands off caravans. The steamer line is well managed, and does all in its power to encourage trade. To a large extent the commercial public is still unaware of the advantages of this route, which ought to be far better known, and I am gratified that Mr. Hart-Davies drew attention to the matter.

It now only remains to refer to two questions of fact raised by Colonel Yate. The country between Nusbki and Seistan was "shelterless" when I began my chief tour in Persia, and I am pleased to know that this is no longer the case. Colonel Yate does not agree with me as to the mining potentialities of Persia, his view being that the mines were worked out in ancient days. But modern experience in India and elsewhere does not support the belief that in distant centuries the riches of the earth were fully exploited even in places where mining was carried on and seams were thought to be exhausted. The varying conjectures revealed by my paper and Colonel Yate's remarks, however, only serve to emphasize the necessity for the mineralogical and geological survey I adumbrated in the paper.

FURTHER PROCEEDINGS.

AT a meeting on Monday, November 12, 1906, at 4 p.m., a paper* was read by Theodore Morison, Esq., on "The Association of Indians with the Government of India." The chair was occupied by Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., and there were present amongst others: The Right Hon. Sir Alfred Lyall, G.C.I.E., General Sir Thomas Gordon, K.C.B., Sir Charles Stevens, K.C.S.I., Sir David Barr, K.C.S.I., and Lady Barr, Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree, K.C.I.E., Sir Lesley Probyn, Major-General Dickson, Lieutenant-Colonel Wright, I.M.S. (retired), Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. Ameer Ali, C.I.E., Mr. Alexander Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. and Mrs. Rustomji, Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Mr. A. Rogers, Mr. Yusuf Ali, Mr. T. W. Arnold, Dr. Norovitz, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Mr. Victor Corbet, Mr. and Mrs. Aublet, the Misses Delaney, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. Nasarvanji M. Cooper, Major Hasan Bilgrami, Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, Mr. P. Patel, Miss Cohen, Mr. Jamsedjee S. Bhumgara, Miss Sansam, Mr. B. Ahmad, Miss Major, Mr. J. W. Anderson, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mr. Vincent A. Smith, Mr. C. M. Kenworthy, Mrs. Rimington, Miss A. Smith, Mr. Nathu Ram, Mr. Shakir Ali, Mr. Q. T. Husain, Mr. A. H. Khudadad Khan, Mr. Frederick Grubb, Miss Chapman Hand, Mr. Kneller, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

The CHAIRMAN said: Ladies and gentlemen, my duty is merely to introduce to you the lecturer, Mr. Theodore Morison, whose name may not be as familiar to you as that of many of the gentlemen who have appeared before you on previous occasions. I may mention that Mr. Morison, whom I have had the pleasure of knowing ever since he was a young man at Cambridge, where he was one of the most distinguished undergraduates of his time, as I can testify, is the son of a distinguished father, whose literary skill and opinions exercised a very beneficial effect, I think, on the thought of the day on various matters of importance both here and hereafter. Mr. Morison's testimonials, so far as the East India Association is concerned, consist of excellent work in India first in a native State, where he was the guardian of the young Rajah, and after that as Principal of the famous Mahomedan College of Aligarh, associated for ever with the distinguished and, indeed, great name of Syed Ali Khan. I think what I have said will be enough to introduce our lecturer to your kindest consideration. (Applause.)

MR. MORISON then read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN: There are so many gentlemen present this afternoon who have borne so large a share in the Government of India that I trust some of them may be persuaded to address you, but there is one word I would like to say before the discussion. I trust that lectures on subjects such as this may be frequent in this Association. There are many questions of great importance which excite enormous interest in India at the present

* See paper elsewhere in this *Review*.

time which can only be profitably directed by free and full discussion both here and in India, but I would once for all—not to-day specially, but thinking of the future—ask, as Chairman of the Council of the East India Association, that discussions in this room and under our auspices may be always conducted with moderation and loyalty. (Hear, hear.) We do not meet here in order to have disloyal or bitter things said about the Government, and those gentlemen who have on one or two occasions perhaps been a little too extreme in the expression of their opinions I trust will remember that we do not care to have such opinions expressed before the East India Association, which is first loyal, and, secondly, moderate. (Hear, hear.) We give free expression to all reasonable opinions; we care nothing whether they are Liberal or Conservative or Congress, or whatever they may be, but moderation and loyalty must govern all discussions in this room. (Applause.)

SIR ALFRED LYALL, in opening the discussion, said he agreed with the lecturer that the desire for representative institutions in India was quite natural, but he thought that those who were pressing for any system that within a short time would put the great powers of government, the power of war, the power of finance, and the highest problems of administration in the hands of elective bodies, or anything like elective bodies, were selecting the line of greatest resistance, and were attacking the question on its most difficult side for the attainment of their object. The application of the parliamentary constitution of England to India would be the most extraordinary anomaly. The administration of India on a system of elective representation would be most difficult. It showed a great amount of simplicity on the part of those who thought that the institutions of the Government of one country could be at once transferred to another as a manufacturer can introduce new or improved mechanical machinery. A constitution was a thing of growth, and it could only show by its slow development whether it was fitted to the needs and circumstances of the country. He doubted whether the very peculiar constitution which had grown up gradually in England had really ever answered equally well in any other country, but he was certain there were a good many countries which had suffered from its indiscriminate introduction. In South America the first thing that the Spanish colonies did when they obtained independence was to introduce parliamentary institutions, but they had never since been able to work them successfully.

With regard to Mr. Morison's suggestion that India should be put into the position of a self-governing colony, they must remember that the ordinary self-governing colonies in which English institutions had worked well were colonies of Englishmen thoroughly familiar with the system, and that was a totally different and much easier thing. He did not make that observation by way of comparison, but the experience of Australia, the Cape, and New Zealand could not apply to India. Then a third criticism of the paper he would venture to make was this: Mr. Morison had said that it had always been admitted that municipal self-government was a primary school of excellent training for the government of sovereign States. It would be interesting to know what example Mr. Morison could produce

of the fact stated. It had not occurred in England, certainly, and he did not know a country where the rulership and highest political office were in the hands of the people who had been trained in administering local self-government. Municipal administration was, he believed, of little use for training in affairs of State, in questions relating to foreign affairs, war, commerce, and finance on a great scale. Then with reference to the suggestion that one province, such as Berar, should be set apart and entirely managed by Indians, he doubted whether it was a very good suggestion, by reason of the fact that Berar was not British India, but was perpetually leased by the native Sovereign, His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, who might possibly object that if the British Government desired to try new experiments in administration they should do it in their own territory. Therefore, if the system were to be attempted, he would rather see it started in some place that was really part of British India. But he thought the attempt should not be made, because there might be some disadvantage in throwing upon Indians the whole responsibility for success, and failure would have the serious effect of discrediting the whole project of bringing forward native talent. It was far preferable, since they were all British subjects, and Indians and English were working together in all the services, that they should not be separated, but still continue to act in combination. He did not think it was wise to segregate one race of people from the other, and he believed they would help each other, and work loyally in co-operation. (Hear, hear.) Then, lastly, his own view was that he should like to see Indians appointed to much higher posts of trust and responsibility. He believed there was enough talent in India to man those posts, and that if it had a fair trial it would certainly succeed. There was too much consideration of departmental and service interests in India. He would take the Act which he had always thought was the best Act of all—namely, the Act of 1874, which allowed the Government of India to appoint any native of India of proved merit and ability to any office for which he was qualified. On this principle he would take the best man he could find in the whole country for duties that he might be fairly deemed fitted to undertake; and he should be inclined to attach little importance to the method of selection by competitive examinations, except for the first admission into the civil services. (Applause).

MR. AMEER ALI said he had listened with great pleasure to Mr. Morison's paper, not only because he had the privilege of friendship with him, but because he felt that Mr. Morison had a special knowledge of his own people—viz., the Mussulmans of India. He agreed with most of Mr. Morison's remarks, but with reference to the main proposal he must record his disagreement. The difficulty the lecturer had pointed out regarding the appearance of a permanent opposition in the Legislative Council of the Government of India required serious consideration in connection with the proposal to extend the principle of election to the Legislative Councils. There was every probability that the rule at present in force would be so modified as to enable the majority of non-official members to be elected. That being so, the important point to consider was how the representation could be so apportioned as to maintain the balance amongst

the different communities. On that it seemed to him the success of the principle of election would depend. If the working of the rule of election was left in the hands of the majority he was afraid the minority would suffer, for he felt that unless the two elements were fairly represented in the Council the difficulty which the lecturer had pointed out connected with the existence of a permanent opposition would be greatly accentuated. The only way of minimizing, if not of removing, that difficulty, would be to afford all the different communities a fair proportion of representation on an elected Council. The powers of the present Council were far in advance of those exercised by the Legislative Council twenty years ago; but even then, although the right of interpellation was not possessed by the members, the Indian members of the Legislative Council of the Viceroy were in a position to exercise considerable influence over the deliberations of that body. He remembered an instance at a critical time when feelings were very much divided. There were only four Indian members of the Viceroy's Council, and a particular measure that had been introduced was extremely distasteful to some influential sections of the population. The measure was amended according to their views. The Indian members, although they did not possess the same powers as they do at present, were, however, in a position to procure a substantial improvement in the interests of the people. That instance showed that the Legislative Council of India did perform useful functions, though it was not a representative body in the sense in which the term was understood in England. Since then their powers had been extended, and the non-official members had obtained the right of interpellation. The Government at the close of the Budget made a distinct statement as to its administrative policy, which enabled the members to ventilate their opinions. Some time ago he ventured to say exactly what had been said by the lecturer, that before these legislative bodies could become real representative institutions two things must happen—not only the Government must be Liberalized, but there must also be considerable development amongst the people themselves. There must be a spirit of compromise amongst all classes of the different communities, together with the cultivation of the civic ideals, which at this moment, he was sorry to say, was mostly absent in India. He was afraid his remarks would give rise to a good deal of captious criticism, but still it was the fact. No one who knew Indian society and India could be ignorant of the fact that at present the real civic spirit—the spirit of toleration, compromise, moderation, and the subordination of personal feelings to the public interests—had not taken the shape or form necessary for the purpose of making representative institutions successful to the fullest extent.

Turning to the main proposal made by Mr. Morison, he was afraid the selection of a particular province to raise to the position of an experimental State would have a very invidious effect throughout India. If the experiment was successful it would give rise to a comparison which would be unfavourable to the administration of the other provinces. If it was unsuccessful, it would cause many heart-searchings and some heart-burnings. He was inclined to think that what had been said by Sir Alfred Lyall was the best solution of the difficulties which were pressing on the Government

of India—namely, the removal of all idea of racial inequality in the participation of Indians in the service of the State. There was no reason why Indians should be excluded from any department, provided they were qualified by strength of character, by honesty, merit, and education. He did not mean that they should be introduced in bulk in every department of the State, but he thought the time had arrived for employing them in larger numbers. If this principle was acknowledged, he thought a great deal of hostile criticism which was levelled at the British Government nowadays would be removed. The lecturer had left unnoticed one matter which deserved as serious a consideration as any pressed by the Congress, or other people, upon the attention of the Government. There was one element which had grown up in India in recent years which certainly tended to make the work of administration extremely complex, and that was the large growth of a non-official European population. In the province in which there was, as a matter of fact, a great deal of unrest and excitement the non-official European population was large. It was generally held that the official classes did not look upon Indian aspirations with the amount of sympathy that was expected from them, but he thought that the Service was not so unsympathetic as was supposed. He had had considerable communication with members of the Civil Service, and he knew many of them intimately. He believed that since the increase of age, which enabled men educated in the Universities to go out to India, the feelings of the Service men had altered greatly in the direction of sympathy and co-operation with Indians. On the other hand, the industrial and commercial competition which had sprung up in different parts of India between Europeans and Indians was not likely to lessen the difficulty of administration, and that was a matter which required to be borne in mind when they were dealing with the problems so ably discussed in the lecture. (Applause.)

SIR CHARLES STEVENS considered that as far as the Province of Bengal was concerned the lecturer had hardly appreciated the extent to which the advancement of the natives of Bengal had been already carried. Long before he (Sir Charles Stevens) left the Board of Revenue, the Excise Commissioner was a native of Bengal; Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt was Commissioner of Orissa, and at the present moment the Senior Member of the Board of Revenue, the officer holding the highest executive appointment next to the Lieutenant-Governorship, was also a native of India, and amongst the judges and collectors the natives of India appeared in very substantial numbers. He had had the pleasure of sitting with Indians as his colleagues on the Viceroy's Legislative Council, and he could certainly bear witness to the power which they had exercised there, and to their influence on legislation. He had sat with them on Select Committees, and had heard their objections—uttered with moderation, no doubt, but certainly insisted upon—and he had seen these objections meet with full attention. Then with regard to the judicial element, a native of India had been Legal Remembrancer; for many years there had been native judges in the High Court—the last speaker had been a conspicuous example—and lately they had seen a native of India officiating as Chief

Justice. When they came to the question of fixing upon a province, and appointing none but natives of India to that province, he thought they would be beset with a great many practical difficulties. He knew nothing of the circumstances of the Berars, but it appeared probable that to officer a tract like that men would have to be introduced from other parts of the country, to whom that particular tract would be no more familiar than it would be familiar to European officers who were sent there. While, on the one hand, he gladly agreed with previous speakers that the name and race of Indian should be no bar to employment, on the other hand, there was always present the absolute necessity of making an appointment which would be, and would commend itself as being, suitable. It was not a question merely of the person to be appointed, but his education and the circumstances under which he was designated for the high appointment, and the probability of his being able to deal with the many difficulties which would assail him, were matters for consideration. A man was not nowadays appointed to be the head of a province simply because he was a European, but because it was the opinion of those who had to appoint him that he would do good, or, at any rate, not do harm. Then the interests of the people who were to be governed had also to be considered. For all those reasons it seemed to him that the subject-matter of the lecture required a very great deal of consideration, and that it was extremely difficult to dogmatize on any point in connection with it. The one thing on which they would agree was that the being an Indian should be no bar to a man's appointment to any office however high. (Applause.)

SIR DAVID BARR said he would like to say a few words in defence of that portion of India with which he had been all his life associated—namely, the Native States. The lecturer had said that if the administration of the province which was handed over to be governed entirely by Indians was not up to the highest standard, it would be greatly superior to that of the Feudatory States; but he thought the States of India were very good specimens of Indian administration. The ruling chiefs generally acted loyally for the amelioration of the administration and improvement of the condition of their subjects, and there were very few States that could not claim progress, civilization, and material benefits as the result of good administration during the past twenty years. In Native States the Government of India was represented sometimes by a single officer, and yet it was very rarely found that that officer failed to prevail upon the officials of the State to assist the ruler in improving rather than retarding beneficial administration. He would point to Native States generally as a very good example of what could be done by Indian rulers who were willing to take advice occasionally, and did not resent having the assistance of an officer who represented in a very unobtrusive but significant way the views and desires of the Government of India. Among the officials of the Native States there had been many able men who had helped to bring about great advancement. He would refer to such statesmen as Sir Salar Jung, Sir T. Madhasa Rao, Sir Dinkur Rao, and Sir Seshadri Aiyar. With reference to taking Berar as the province to be administered solely by Indians, he would, in passing, point out that the

Nizam of Hyderabad had distinctly reserved his sovereignty in Berar, and had leased it on the understanding that it would continue to be administered by the Government of India. Perhaps His Highness might object to the proposed alteration in the form of administration; in fact, His Highness might go so far as to say that if any change was contemplated he would prefer to govern it himself. Hyderabad was certainly well administered by its ruler; the State was exceedingly peaceful and prosperous; the people were quiet and law-abiding; there were no agitations there, and, curiously enough, there was no vernacular press. (Laughter.)

MR. YUSUF ALI said that as a comparatively junior member of the Indian Civil Service it would not, perhaps, be fitting that he should express any strong opinions on the principle involved in the paper, but he agreed with the previous speakers that the question taken up by the lecturer was one of great interest, not only to the people of India but to the people of England. The question of Liberalizing the administrative machinery of the Government of India was not a new question. It had been before the Government for a long time, and various steps had been taken at different times, though cautiously, as the nature of the case required. The lecturer had put forward a plea first for an extension of that principle of government, and, secondly, a specific scheme, which he thought it was possible to work with greater safety and chance of efficiency than the alternative schemes he had discussed. To the question whether the proposed scheme would entirely satisfy the aspirations of those people who pressed for an elective Government of India, he (Mr. Yusuf Ali) did not think an affirmative reply could confidently be given. What the opposition demanded was not so much that the higher posts should be given to Indian members of the Services, as that a greater amount of popular control should be exercised on administrative policy than at present. For instance, he could conceive that the whole of the administration of a province being Indian, the Indians would still say that that was entirely out of sympathy with their aspirations, simply because it was composed mainly of Service people without any control being exercised by the people themselves. There were two things to be considered: the Indianizing of the administration under the system which existed at the present moment, and the introduction of popular control over the system whether the personnel remained as at present mixed, or became entirely Indian in a certain tract. It was necessary to bear that in mind before considering whether the scheme would be acceptable to those whom the lecturer rightly termed the opposition of the Government of India.

With regard to municipal government, that had been a pet hobby of his. He had studied that question, and agreed with Mr. Morison in thinking that work on Municipal and District Boards was to a very large extent educative of the people. He thought that a member of a Municipal Board who had dealt with the small questions that came before him in a conscientious civic spirit was far more likely, when larger questions were presented to him, to deal with them in a right way than one who had never had any opportunity of grappling with any public questions at all. He had always felt that in municipalities there were always a certain pro-

portion of men who wished to do what was right in the interests of their constituencies. There was always a certain proportion of men who wished to put the public good before their own personal good. Of course, it was regrettable that that feeling was not more universal; but still, he thought the feeling was there, and that it was only by an encouragement of that feeling, and by a stimulation of all the conditions that made for that feeling, that they could hope for the further political education of the people.

MAJOR SYED HASSAN (BILGRAMI) did not think that the lecturer was quite justified in assuming that the men who would be elected in the future to the Viceroy's Council would always constitute an opposition. To a certain extent that was begging the question. It was quite possible that if the system of election was modified in accordance with certain proposals that had been made by an influential Committee lately, and which had been sympathetically received both in India and in England, the evils of captious and unnecessary criticism out of "sheer cussedness" would not take place. There were a great many measures before the Government of India that might be looked upon as non-controversial, and which did not give rise to any strong party feeling. Then, he did not think that the Government of India were quite so helpless with reference to defending themselves against attacks as Mr. Morison had suggested when they were supported by such able and moderately-conducted papers as the *Pioneer* and the *Times of India*. There were newspapers on the other side, and in that way questions were ventilated. Municipal self-government had existed for a very long time, and no doubt it was educative, and had given rise to a great amount of public service for the benefit of the community. With regard to the selection of one province for administration solely by Indians, he thought that a great many of Mr. Morison's difficulties were really social difficulties, and the origin of most of the discontent in India was a matter of the personal and social relations of the two communities, and whenever he had investigated the discontent of an individual he had found it had arisen from something that bore on personal relations.

MR. THORBURN said that in the Punjab they had been experimenting for certainly fifteen years in the direction indicated by the main proposal of the lecturer, for when he left the province six years ago, two Districts were in charge of Punjabi Deputy Commissioners, and the whole of the Civil staff—the Superintendents of Police excepted—in those two Districts were Punjabis. Then, just before he left, a revision of settlement was made over to a promising young Indian, and there were three or four subdivisions in the Punjab which were held by Indians who were not, as far as he remembered, members of the covenanted Civil Service. That indicated that on the part of the Government there was an honest endeavour to give Indians high administrative appointments wherever it could. As time was short he would only make one suggestion, which, if accepted, would help towards the rapid materialization of the scheme which Mr. Morison had put before them, and that was that if the members of the National Congress, many of them rich men and with wealthy sympathizers all over India, would accept the condition of entering the Indian Civil Service

through the portal of Burlington House, London, and would subscribe funds and endow scholarships for Indians in some of the best public schools in England, and also in the Universities, they would soon see ten and even twenty Indians among the successful candidates for the covenanted India Civil Service each year, instead of the paltry two or three they now saw. If that were done, educated Indians being intellectually the equals of Englishmen, Mr. Morison's object would soon be accomplished.

MR. MORISON in reply said that the whole question was raised by Sir Alfred Lyall when he said that it was desirable that the most competent man, whether English or Indian, should be appointed. If Sir Alfred knew of any device by which this could be realized, he would be glad to withdraw his present proposal. The problem was, How was that to be achieved? Did Sir Alfred really think that there was the remotest probability of appointing men who were not in the Civil Service to important positions? His own proposals were more modest, and had but this recommendation, that it might be possible to carry them and that they would undoubtedly achieve the end in view.

THE CHAIRMAN: The pleasant duty is before me of returning thanks to our lecturer for the very sympathetic, and enlightening, and suggestive paper which he has read to us. (Applause.) Personally I do not desire to add much to the discussion, which has been exceedingly interesting, and in what has fallen from each of the speakers there has been, I think, a great deal of truth. The point of view of Sir Alfred Lyall, who is an exceedingly wise man, and who thoroughly understands the question about which he is talking, seems to me accurate. He has pointed out that representative institutions are a question not of transplanting, but of natural growth. Mr. Ameer Ali, whose experience and whose reputation is so great, has shown with unanswerable force that the experiment proposed by our lecturer of a province entirely manned by native officers has the double-edged danger of either succeeding and so discrediting the present administration, or of failing and so discrediting native administration. That is a deadly weapon, and I do not think that we can take it into our hands without danger. Sir Charles Stevens, I think, placed the question on the practical basis, which a great many of our more enthusiastic friends who come to this room very often forget. Day by day, and year by year, a larger share of the administration of India is placed in the hands of competent Indian gentlemen. That is the case, and no one can deny it, and in this practice the difficulty may find its practical solution. Do the great mass of the 300 millions who fill that part of the continent of Asia want more than that their best men should be recognised and put in those high positions for which they are fitted? Do they want a representative Government? There is not one million out of the 300 millions who would know what you meant if you asked them the question—who would wish it if you explained it to them, or who would not desire it to be taken away if you gave it to them. That is my opinion about representative institutions in the East. They are unknown in Asia. There is a pathetic experiment in which I am very much interested being attempted at the

present moment in Persia. What flower or fruit will there be produced from the little leaves which are just appearing above the surface of the ground I really do not know, but I am not enthusiastic about its success or its growth. So in Russia, a country which till now has not had representative institutions, although they have had some sort of municipal government of their own in the Zemstovs, you see what is happening there. Representative government is a strong wine to pour into old bottles; it is a dangerous medicine to give to people who say they are quite well without it, and who if they drink it will only become much worse than they are to-day. However this may be, my sympathies are, as you all know, with the progress in every way and advancement of the people of India; and the only duty that remains is to thank our lecturer for his clever and interesting paper, which may bear good fruit in the future, and I trust that this subject may again be debated in this room when other suggestions and other ideas may be put forward, and from that nothing but good can result. (Applause.)

The following communication has been received from Mr. Rogers since the meeting was held: Although I entirely agree with the idea that the time has arrived when Indians may be more and more associated with the government of their own country in subordination to British rule, I would, indeed, go further, and say that in consequence of large numbers of them for many years past having been educated in our Universities and colleges after English methods, and imbued with the spirit of British administration, it would involve political danger if the best of those thus educated were not more and more entrusted with a share in the management of their own country, I do not think Mr. Morison's proposal to hand over a whole province entirely to Indians, to be ruled according to our regulations, would succeed. It might, indeed, tend to widen the breach that unfortunately exists between Europeans and natives if the attempt were made, for in my opinion the most effectual method of dispelling the prejudices and want of knowledge of each other that have caused that breach would be to throw them more and more together, so that the angles on the shoulders of both sides might be rubbed off by closer intercourse. There can be no doubt that in as far as social intercourse is concerned estrangement has been and is being brought about by native caste and religious prejudices, which go so far as to prevent members of the two races eating together and entering each other's houses for fear of that personal impurity which in the minds of orthodox Hindoos would arise from the contact of Europeans with the eating and drinking arrangements and the ideas of privacy of the former. As these social prejudices can only be gradually overcome by their voluntary abandonment on the part of the former, as may be observed among the more advanced and enlightened of them who travel and visit England and other foreign countries, thus tending to the promotion of social intercourse, it would, I think, be a mistake to establish, as it were, two castes in the service of the State. Let the whole Civil Service be one, but let members of it, whether European or native, be interchangeable from one district to

another, and even from one province to another, according to suitability and convenience. In fact, I agree with what Sir Alfred Lyall has said with regard to the advisability of Government having the liberty to select men of proved ability and experience outside the ranks of the Civil Service for particular posts for which they might be required, as in the case of the statutory civilians, who might have been retained with advantage to the country in many cases. I would not do away with the covenanted Civil Service and the present method of its recruitment, but would gradually throw open to the members of the uncovenanted Service, recruited on the spot, more and more of the appointments reserved by Act of Parliament for the former, or are held indiscriminately by both, such as those in the Customs and Excise Department, the Revenue and other surveys, and others not so reserved. It would be advisable, too, that lists of posts held by natives of the country in such departments, and in the Judicial Department, now largely so recruited, should be periodically published by the local governments, in order to prove to the educated classes, who have no sources of information on the subject, how the objects of Queen Victoria's proclamation have been kept in view and are steadily being carried out, so as to stop the mouths of the more clamorous claimants among them for berths and emoluments. These lists should include the names of those employed under municipalities, which I agree with the lecturer and other speakers afford the best training-schools for posts of more importance under the State. Let the rule for selection hereafter be suitability and ability, but, as I have already written publicly, *festina lente*, and matters in the particulars now complained against by the educated classes will soon right themselves.

A. ROGERS.

FURTHER PROCEEDINGS.

At a meeting held at Caxton Hall on Monday, November 26, 1906, at 4 p.m., a paper was read by L. W. Ritch, Esq., on "The Burden of the British Indian in South Africa."* The chair was taken by Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, and there were present amongst others: Right Hon. Lord Reay, G.C.I.E., LL.D., Sir Frederic Fryer, K.C.S.I., Sir Raymond West, K.C.I.E., Sir Lesley Probyn, Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. M. K. Gandhi and Mr. H. O. Ally (Transvaal delegates), Mr. J. W. Fox, Mr. Nasarvanji M. Cooper, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. Alexander Rogers, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. A. G. Wise, Mr. K. W. Bonnerjee, Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, Mr. S. R. Pather, Mr. George Godfrey, Mr. J. C. Mukerji, Mr. J. H. Polak, Mr. C. A. Latif, Mr. Kneller, Mr. F. J. Verteuil, Mr. Jamshedji Boyce, Mr. Gaurishanker, Mr. C. B. Bhojnek, Miss Major, Mr. J. E. Salmon, Mr. Walter F. Westbrook, Mr. Manilal M. Doctor, Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Nathu Ram, Mr. H. Rose Mackenzie, Miss Wellard, Mr. D. R. Bardi, Miss Annie Smith, Mr. J. W. Godfrey, Mr. S. D. Bhabha, Mr. B. B. Kanga, Miss F.

* See paper elsewhere in this *Review*.

Winterbottom, Miss Chapman Hand, Mr. W. Martin Wood, Mr. Bhungara, Mr. B. Ahmad, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the lecturer to the meeting, said : The lecturer who will address you presently upon a question of almost the first magnitude, and of Imperial importance, not only to India, but to the whole of the British Empire, is eminently fitted to do so for various reasons. His lecture will, I believe, be found not to be a mere academic one, but an essentially practical one, because he speaks of the subject of which he is treating from personal knowledge, extending to seventeen or eighteen years on the spot in South Africa. With him I have had an acquaintance extending over some years, and have been struck by the keen interest that he has taken in a question which does not immediately concern himself—which, as a non-Indian, perhaps, he is concerning himself with at a good deal of personal sacrifice, but about the sincerity of his advocacy there can be no possible doubt. Mr. Ritch has worked in South Africa in a professional capacity as a lawyer, and also as a man following commercial pursuits, and as a public citizen. He has seen with his own eyes, and heard with his own ears of the humiliating and debasing treatment to which British Indians, subjects of His Britannic Majesty, have been invariably treated by the legislators and authorities in various parts of that sub-continent. Without detaining you further, and reserving any remarks that I may have to make until the conclusion of the lecture, I have much pleasure in calling upon Mr. Ritch to address you.

MR. RITCH then read his paper :

MR. GANDHI said that after what had been said by the lecturer it was unnecessary to say anything further with reference to the object of the mission with which he had been entrusted, but it would be ungrateful on his part if he did not take the opportunity of expressing his deep gratitude to the East India Association and its secretary, Mr. C. W. Arathoon, for the advocacy which the Indian cause in South Africa had received. There was one thing which all should bear in mind—namely, that whatever difficulties they were undergoing in South Africa were being undergone in the name of the English people, more particularly in the Transvaal. The Ordinance which had brought them to England had been introduced in the name of the King.

For the first time in Colonial history a precedent had been set by a Crown Colony of legislation which branded a class of people simply because they wore a coloured skin. Was India to be retained, or was India to be lost simply because Colonial sentiment had to be consulted? What was the proportion of the white population to the Indian? As Mr. Ritch had said, the Asiatics in the Transvaal were but a drop in the ocean—13,000 as against 285,000 white men. They were simply struggling for peace, for contentment and self respect in that Colony. Nearly all of them entered the Colony before the war. To-day they were merely asking for the civil rights which ought to be granted to everybody who was a subject under the British Crown, and yet under the Ordinance they were to be treated differently to other British subjects. Was that kind of legislation to be sanctioned in the name of the British nation? (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN then called upon Mr. Ally to address the meeting, remarking that they had come as special delegates to England as representatives of the whole of the British Indians in South Africa. They had been duly authorized at a large mass meeting of the British Indians resident in the Transvaal, but one or two misguided individuals had taken it into their heads to send a petition and a telegram to the Colonial Secretary, calling in question their authorization. He had thoroughly investigated the matter, and was firmly of the belief that the message that had been sent was entirely unauthorized by anyone, and, moreover, one of the persons sending it had been present at the mass meeting that was held in the Transvaal which had authorized Messrs. Gandhi and Ally to come to England, and had made as emphatic, not to say violent, a speech as any in condemnation of the Regulations. He had himself known Mr. Gandhi for ten or twelve years, and could assure the audience that he had not known a more single-minded individual or a person more unselfishly working for what was a great public purpose than Mr. Gandhi, who had made many personal sacrifices in advocating the cause he had come to England to advocate.

THE CHAIRMAN said that before Mr. Ally addressed the meeting he would like to point out that the two delegates represented different communities, Mr. Gandhi being a Hindoo and Mr. Ally a Mohammedan, and that showed, if anyone had a doubt, that Mohammedans and Hindoos were agreed on the subject.

MR. ALLY said he thought the paper had dealt in a very moderate manner with the treatment of the loyal British Indians in South Africa. It was a known fact that Indian people were loyal people, and they had done whatever they could to afford support to the British flag. In South Africa there had been a great war between the Boers and the British. They would find in the Transvaal a monument erected by British officers to the memory of those Indians who fell during the Boer War, but there was not a monument in the Transvaal representing the English. While they were suffering under the British flag in the Transvaal the aliens were enjoying full freedom. Every Pole, every Russian, Armenian, Syrian or Greek, under the Peace Preservation Act, was allowed in the Transvaal to secure land and to trade, and no registration was wanted for him; and no special legislation was passed against him. It was only British Indian subjects. That was simply because they had a darker skin. Was such a thing as that to be tolerated by the English people, and were they going to allow such a thing to be perpetrated in their name? What the Indians in the Transvaal felt very keenly was that, with the establishment of the British flag instead of being protected, they were put under still greater indignities and greater disadvantages, and in every way the laws were construed against them, he therefore hoped that what had been said would be taken into serious consideration.

SIR RAYMOND WEST said he thought they would all have listened with great admiration, but also with some humiliation, to the clear statement of the grievances suffered by their Indian fellow-subjects in South Africa, which had been given both by the lecturer and by the delegates from the

Indian communities. The British were an Imperial race, and were proud of the position they held; and in the past they had endeavoured on many occasions to live up to the great rôle which Providence had apparently laid out for them. They had abolished slavery at a great cost both in money and in the bitterness of feeling aroused among the Cape colonists, especially those of Dutch origin, but were they not as an Imperial race to frame ever higher ideals according to the expanding experience of their Empire instead of falling back to a lower plane of thought and feeling? The question of mere immediate utility ought, to a large extent, to be left aside when they had to deal with such an Imperial question as had been laid before them by the lecturer for consideration. In these later days in England they had been slaves of certain narrower, pettier lines of thought in the way of policy, and had not kept in view the Imperial duties which devolved upon them as the founders and sponsors of a great Empire. When they gave self-government to a colony they thought their duty was done—when they, perhaps, conceded to a small number of Europeans the privilege of trampling on all those of other races—but they could not carry out their Imperial duty in that way. They were bound as a governing race to keep a firm hand over all the outlying members of that great community. He appealed to the members of that great community, the colonists themselves, to show themselves more worthy of the Empire to which they belonged, and more fit for the great destiny which had to be achieved by them. That duty was not to be performed by tyrannizing over people of another colour and race. The great work the English people had to do was to bring up all those under their sway to their own level of thought and action, but could that possibly be achieved when petty tyranny and race jealousy—and, worse than race jealousy, shop-keeping jealousy—was allowed to predominate? (Applause.) They had had enough to warn them in their own past insular history of the evils which arise from yielding to the influence of petty mercantile jealousy. That commercial jealousy had had perhaps more to do with the alienation of the Irish people than anything else. Such petty jealousy must not be allowed to dominate the Imperial policy of the future, and the majority of a small European population in a particular part of the Empire must not suppose they were to regulate everything in the policy of a huge Empire by the standard of their own prejudices. If they took the advantages of Imperial protection they must submit to the little inconveniences—to the slight frictions and competition of free energies—which belonged to that position, and must not expect to have everything subordinated to the petty interests of a few traders. They must take their position as members of the Imperial race just as the Indians themselves were called upon, at no slight sacrifice, to take their place in the Empire. There were no more loyal, law-abiding members of the British community than the natives of India. (Hear, hear.) They possessed characteristics which, on account of their very difference from European characteristics, give a versatility to the whole British community, taken as an aggregate, which was a source of immense strength; and if difficulties did arise, as they might arise in the future, he could conceive that the Indian capacity of reverence and submission to law and discipline would be a mainstay of the Empire.

Were they, then, without any serious cause, to wound the pride and alienate the affections of that huge mass of people? He said, No. They were bound to feel for them and with them, and to protect them as far as they could. Their demands were, in the present case, most modest and simple. They asked only to have civil rights; they claimed no political position. They wanted merely to be allowed to exercise the humble activities and live the ordinary life of plain citizens. They said, You admit freely the natives of Austria, France, Germany, and Russia. They are foreigners. Are we, who are British subjects, to be put on worse terms than they? The reason the foreigners were admitted was, no doubt, that their governments would make it a cause of serious complaint if obstacles were placed in the way of their entering British territory, or degrading conditions were imposed. But was the Imperial Government so weak that it could not insist on its own subjects having the same terms as were granted to every foreigner in a civilized community? The position was one that did not admit for a moment of any logical defence. The truth was that they had embarked in their Colonial policy on a course that was indefensible on any ground of principle. They had let the tail wag the dog. The Empire should maintain a stronger and firmer hold over its scattered portions. It should be a control standing above party and insular interests, and that could be achieved by having some central council on which would be represented all the different scattered communities. In such a council India should be amply represented, and in that way due pressure could be brought to bear to repress and conquer meaner influences. In the meanwhile, he counselled patience to their Indian fellow subjects. They must remember how long a time it took to abolish slavery. Let them also learn the lesson that mere self-government was not always the way to prosperity—the prosperity of a nobler and worthier national life. Tranquil and perhaps slow progress towards self-government was a thing that might be better for India itself than any sudden jump into the void where experience had as yet furnished no guidance as to the way in which they would reach ultimate prosperity. He begged to assure his Indian fellow subjects that in England they had the sympathy of thousands, if not of millions, of people, not only of those who had been in India, but of the great mass of the population; but they were at present so tied down by refractive theories and an imperfect policy in the past, that the existing obstacles could only be got over by gradual steps. When they had gentlemen like Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Ally appearing before them it was an absurd and ridiculous thing for people to say that Indians were not fit to associate with British Colonists on equal terms. How few of the lower class of Colonists, at any rate, were fit to stand on a platform and contend against the appeal of Mr. Gandhi, much less the telling arguments of Mr. Ritch. He hoped that all present would consider themselves apostles of a great and imperial cause, and would urge upon their friends the necessity of looking into the question in a large and liberal spirit consistent with the dignity of the Empire, and the great history that was behind it. (Applause.)

MR. T. H. THORNTON, D.C.L., C.S.I.: I do not like to leave this interest-

ing meeting—which I have to do very shortly—without saying a few words. I wish to say in the first place that, having passed more than a quarter of a century in India as a civil servant, in positions which brought me into friendly intercourse with all classes of its inhabitants, I have learned to appreciate their courage as soldiers, their fidelity as servants, the intelligence and courtesy of their educated classes, their perseverance as traders, and the industry and orderliness of their peasants and labouring classes. I naturally feel a warm affection for them, and naturally feel indignant when I hear of British Indian subjects being unfairly or harshly treated, especially in localities under the control and influence of my countrymen. In the next place I desire to join with the last speaker in expressing admiration for Mr. Ritch's paper, which describes the "Burden of the British Indian in South Africa" very effectively. In reference to this subject difficult questions arise affecting our duties as an imperial power in safeguarding the rights of our Asiatic subjects who migrate, or desire to migrate, to our South African colonies. In regard to these important questions, I concur generally in the views expressed by my friend Sir Raymond West; but also recognise the fact that ideal justice is more than we can hope for. Nor, indeed, does the deputation from the Transvaal present here this evening expect it. On the contrary, its claims are singularly moderate. It accepts the principle of restrictive immigration, and an educative test like that provided in the Cape Act for would-be immigrants; and it must be held to accept, also, the necessity for registration and permits which is a necessary consequence of restrictive immigration. What it complains is that the old system of registration and permits in force under the Dutch Government has been made by a new ordinance far more stringent and searching, so as to render all British Indian subjects, old and young, male or female, high or low, educated or ignorant, whether old inhabitants or new-comers, liable at any time to vexatious demands or enquiries by policemen of all grades; they object to the protracted and vexatious character of the preliminary enquiries, and they specially complain that, as a means of identification, they are required to give an imprint of their finger-tips—a form of identification they consider very humiliating, as it is associated in their minds with that employed in the case of criminals.

They further complain that an old law made by the Dutch Government, denying British Indian subjects the right to hold land permanently save in certain locations, has never been repealed.

These complaints seem very reasonable. No Englishman would tolerate the hodge regulations such as those of the new Ordinance; I certainly should not myself. But surely it should not be beyond the ingenuity of the Transvaal Government to devise some form of identification less distasteful to the Indian than finger-tip impression, and to limit and regulate the powers of the police in demanding passports; and the old restriction as to acquisition of land seems no longer necessary, especially if the immigration is restricted.

MR. NASARVANJI MANECKJI COOPER, as one who had travelled extensively in the West Indies and in British Guiana, drew attention to the

state of affairs which prevailed in those colonies. There not the least distinction was made between the 200,000 Indian indentured coolies, as well as other Indian traders, and the ordinary white settler. The coolies travelled in the same railway compartment as the white men, and their work was appreciated by the white planters as adding to the prosperity of the colonies. Even in the United States, where the blacks were hated by the whites, there was no imposition of any system of permits upon the negro population. There was no doubt Indians were needed for the development of the African subcontinent. They had only to look at what was being done in East Africa to appreciate this. But he was of opinion that the emigration of Indians ought to be prohibited, except on the distinct understanding that they were to be subjected to no humiliating restrictions. He had been talking to a high Belgian official not long ago, and had made a reference to the scandal of the Congo administration. But he had received the reply, "What about your own matters? Your countrymen are treated worse than dogs in the Transvaal." And he had nothing to say by way of rejoinder. He expressed the hope that Christian England, which had spent millions to free the poor from slavery and bondage, would certainly help the British Indians in South Africa in their efforts to secure better treatment.

MR. A. G. WISE said that he felt some reluctance in speaking, because, much as he sympathized with the Indians, he was not quite in accord with either the lecturer or the East India Association on the question. Those who had heard him speak on the subject of the education of the children of India, and of the Tamil children in Ceylon, would not accuse him of any lack of sympathy for Indians. The lecturer had referred in very strong terms to the conditions of indentured labour as being in his opinion closely allied to those of slavery, and as being debasing. But in British Guiana, of which they had just heard, the labour was indentured. Though he would not compare the state of things at present existing in South Africa with the conditions in British Guiana, still, he would draw attention to the fact that the latter showed that indentured labour was not necessarily identical with, or similar to, slavery. It had been proposed to introduce the indentured labour system into Ceylon, but the newspapers were always full of warnings from such men as the Hon. John Ferguson, saying, "Beware what you are doing. Go slowly; do not press the Government of Ceylon to introduce the system of indentured labour, because you get a lot of fussy official interference, and it is not always in the best interests of the Colony, and very seldom in the interests of the planters to do it." Of course, in Africa there was a great deal of improvement necessary in the lot of the coolies. They had heard that the facilities for the education of the British Indian children were sadly lacking. That he knew to be the case, because he had had to go into the question of education in South Africa in connection with the education of the coolie children in Ceylon. For instance, in Natal Mr. P. A. Barnett, who recently was Superintendent of Education in that Colony, in a report on the subject, thus expressed himself: "The education of Indians in Natal has its own peculiar difficulties. At present our neglect is doing a good deal to confine the Indian popula-

tion to petty and predaceous industries; to discourage it from acquiring arts and crafts; and to breed a class of peculiarly dangerous criminals. We, as well as they," he concluded, "will benefit if we set up a little machinery for teaching them to use their hands in productive work profitable to us all." They had not heard what had taken place in Australia, where strict regulations existed as to the immigration of Asiatics. It was a very difficult question, and not nearly so simple as it might seem on the face of it. Indians, although British subjects, were practically excluded from entering into Australia, and he knew that there was a very strong feeling which had led to such exclusion. That fact showed that South Africa was not alone, and when they found various English Colonies taking up a similar attitude, it must not be concluded lightly that it arose from the alleged brutality of Englishmen when they left their own country. They might depend upon it there were grave reasons for those Colonies taking the steps they did, and probably serious economic causes. He would, therefore, deprecate any reckless interference with the affairs of autonomous, or quasi autonomous, Colonies. In South Africa at the present day great resentment was felt at the way in which party politics had entered into South African concerns, and if they interfered lightly with the deliberately expressed wishes of their Colonies, they might bring about the disruption and dismemberment of the Empire.

MR. PENNINGTON desired to say that, though he agreed with everything Sir Raymond West had said, he also agreed with the last speaker that it was a more difficult question than had yet appeared, and he wished to ask the lecturer how he proposed to coerce or persuade the colonial authorities to amend their practice.

MR. W. MARTIN WOOD remarked that, although almost everything that could be, and most that should be, has been said on this non-Imperial question, he considered that this Association was indebted to Mr. Ritch for the well-framed and clearly-argued lecture just delivered. The subject was by no means new to our members; he desired to remind members that seven or eight years ago an important debate had taken place at one of our meetings on the same subject; and it then came out distinctly—the then Agent-General for Natal stated on the other side—that the nature of the objections to the Indians was of the most sordid, shop-keeping kind. The policy that had now grown to such monstrous proportions in South Africa was really a policy of disruption of Empire, and must be dealt with in the way indicated in Sir Raymond West's thoughtful remarks. The time for argument has now passed, and it remains to be seen how these degrading disabilities—as Mr. Thornton had justly described them—are to be swept away, for it must be taken as a legal maxim that "British subjects are British citizens." He trusted that the direct appeals recently placed before the responsible authorities—in which their chairman of the day and the chairman of their Council had taken such an influential part—might have the desired effect in removing this reproach from our Imperial policy.

SIR LESLIE PROBYN said that when he visited British Guiana twenty-eight years ago he had been particularly struck with the magnificent way in which the coolies were treated, and how absolutely happy they were.

They had been indentured in a way to secure they were well treated, and when their indentures ran out they were allowed to stay in the Colony. They had the same rights as everybody else, and he remembered quite well speaking to the Governor about an Indian there who happened to own a racehorse—it was the best racehorse in the Colony—and the Governor said that not only was the Indian a very nice fellow, but his wife came to the parties at the Government House, and was one of the best-dressed women in the Colony. (Laughter.) He quite agreed with what Sir Raymond West had said, and it pained him very much to think that people of the class whom he had known in India, by whose side he had had the honour of fighting, and who had saved his life at times, should be treated badly in South Africa.

MR. ROGERS was afraid that as long as the British Government gave self-government to the colonies trade jealousy would come in, and trade jealousy was at the bottom of all the trouble. If they could once get over that, the remedy would come of its own accord.

MR. RITCH, in reply, said the most important point in the discussion was the traverse of his comparison between slavery and indentures. He had not said they were precisely the same thing, but he drew a comparison between them which showed their incidents to closely resemble each other. Under the system of indentures two different classes of people were created, who did not stand towards each other in the orthodox relationship of employer and employé. He did not regard the question of good treatment or ill-treatment as the most important consideration, because in the old slave-days there were masters who treated their slaves extremely well. He was told it was a free contract, but in many cases the coolies did not understand it, and he maintained it was not an equitable contract. The Indian coolie did not always find himself in the hands of good proprietors, and there was such a thing as white men protecting each other's interests even at the sacrifice of some sense of justice to the black man. The coolie was sufficiently carefully looked after in his capacity as coolie not to be much of a nuisance, but he was under the thumb of his master. They had heard it said there was another side to the question. He had heard the charge made that the Indian freeman was filthy in his habits; that he was insanitary; he was a miser, and would not do this, that, or the other. But what did they find in practice? It was not the little coolie who was objected to; it was the larger Indian who was objected to. As long as he remained a houseboy or scavenger he was not complained of. It was only when the coolie ceased to become a coolie, and showed his superiority, and showed he was the better man, that he was complained of. It was perfectly true the coolies were not angels, nor yet were all white people. There was no national monopoly of cleanliness or of desirability. He argued that it was incumbent on them to be *English* Englishmen, and straight in their dealings with men, and not to oppress them. As an Englishman, he felt it was degradation to know that his fellow-countrymen were subjecting British citizens to such treatment as he knew British Indians suffered in Africa. With regard to the remedy for the existing state of things, he did not think it was too late

for English public men to take up an attitude that was just, firm, and honourable, particularly in the case of the Transvaal, because the Transvaal was not yet a self-governing Colony. To-day the Imperial Government had the opportunity of setting a firm precedent, and even though it *might* mean something very nearly approximating to dismemberment of the Empire, he would rather have for his part an honest dismembered Empire ruled by old-fashioned justice and honesty as between man and man, irrespective of colour, than what seemed to him to be a mere pretence of an Empire such as they had at the present time. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: It is now my pleasing duty to tender—I trust, in the name of everybody here present—the thanks that are due to the lecturer for having dealt with a very important question in a spirit of moderation, and in a lecture which I believe to be of a very high order as regards literary treatment. I myself have been very familiar with this question, and I entertain strong feelings upon it, and therefore I am hardly capable of being in the judicial position of a chairman, but I think that the Secretary of the Association, my friend Mr. Arathoon, as well as Mr. Ritch, will bear me out when I say that I have taken the chair to-night with some hesitation. That hesitation has been simply due to the fact that I have had well-settled convictions upon this point of some years' standing. Before I pass on, however, to deal with the question, I should like to associate myself with Mr. Gandhi in expressing gratitude to the East India Association for the very great help that it has rendered to the advocacy of this cause, and more especially to my distinguished friend Sir Lepel Griffin, who, both as Chairman of this Association and as an eminent administrator in past years in India, as well as a prominent public citizen of the Empire, has lent the whole strength and force of his advocacy in favour of the cause which has been engaging our attention this afternoon. I would also remark that we have had the honour of the presence to-night of Lord Reay, the President of the Association, who, I know, feels a very keen interest in the subject, which he would have himself expressed had he not been called away by his legislative duties. Altogether the Association, both through its President and Chairman and Council, has rendered to this question very considerable assistance for many years past.

Now, with regard to the lecture itself, I have absolutely no comment to offer either as to the statement of facts or about the expression of opinion on those facts, except that at one part of the lecture Mr. Ritch remarked that the question of the treatment of British Indians was overlooked after the establishment of British administration in the Transvaal. I am aware that Mr. Ritch himself knows that it was not exactly overlooked. Mr. Chamberlain and his successor in the Colonial Office always looked after it, always devoted their attention to it, and I can speak from personal knowledge when I say that they took a very sympathetic and almost anxious interest in the subject. If they failed to bring about any relief, you may take it from me that it has not been for want of will on their part. Nobody feels more keenly upon this question than I have done for many years past, and yet nobody could be more alive to the difficulty of meeting the opposition not only of one Colony, but of united Colonies, to the immigration of

British Indians there. The whole mischief with reference to this question arises from the unreasonable attitude of the colonists themselves. Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Lyttelton, Lord Elgin, have all admitted this. So that there is no longer any doubt or difference of opinion, such as Mr. Wise suggested here, with reference to the reality of the grievances that British Indians suffer in the Colonies, especially in South Africa.

The main grievance of British Indians in South Africa to-day is this: that for upwards of forty years, or very nearly half a century, they have been tolerated there. These large Colonies were absolutely failing for want of industrial treatment in former years, and that the Indians who had been imported there for the purpose of making those Colonies fruitful and prosperous should now be subjected to these degradations, humiliations, and disabilities cannot but be regarded as an intolerable injustice. My friend Sir Raymond West counsels patience. Yes, I am an advocate of patience too when new rights and privileges have to be won. But in this case there is no longer room for patience, because it is not the case that these British Indians resident in South Africa are fighting to-day for any new rights or privileges. What they are fighting for is simply that they may not be entirely trampled down, their existing rights extinguished, and themselves driven out of the Colony. The lecturer has talked of the progress from stage to stage of this sort of repulsive legislation in the Colonies. He has told you of instances where British Indians have been robbed time after time of their property and of their vested rights and interests without even compensation, although compensation in many cases can never repay a people who are robbed of their rights of free citizenship. So that it is now a question of simply keeping body and soul together for these British Indians in South Africa. It is the whole trend of legislation that we complain of. If these colonials were once for all to say, "Our policy is that the people of British India shall not be entitled to engage in commercial pursuits in other parts of the British Empire, that there is no room for them, and that they shall not be protected against insult or ill-treatment in the Colonies," one could understand the situation. But what is the use of British statesmen proclaiming to them that they shall be entitled to all the rights and liberties appertaining to British subjects on the one hand, and then on the other to deny them assistance and protection against a handful of colonists?

There is one further remark that I would like to make, and that is to the people of India themselves. It is not my business in life to be an agitator; it never has been. But I do feel that this question is about the most important question that affects the very existence of British Indian people as a nation, because if you analyze it thoroughly, what does it mean? It means this: that a small body of British subjects of His Majesty King Edward VII. have to-day taken upon themselves to deny to three hundred millions of his other subjects in the Indian Empire the ordinary rights of citizenship. Under the British flag, and, in fact, under any civilized flag, human beings have certain inherent rights. British statesmen have time and again in distinct and emphatic language guaranteed these three hundred millions of people in British India the preservation and the security of those

fundamental rights of national existence. A few thousand of our colonists have taken upon themselves absolutely to trample underfoot those pledges and those assurances. The conflict is not so much between British Indians and African communities as it is between the Crown and the statesmen of Great Britain on the one hand, and a few thousand colonists on the other. They have taken upon themselves to say to the Imperial Government, Do what you like; we here will by every means, even at the risk of employing physical force, deny to these subjects of yours of the British Indian Empire those rights which His Majesty and the Imperial Government have for generations past guaranteed to them. If in this struggle the colonial contention prevails, the people of India will be regarded in future as inferior to men of civilized communities; and I think that the people of India will do well to realize this, and cry loud and long until they find that this great grievance is remedied, and that their national existence is secured for the future by the assertion of Imperial authority against the tyrannical and humiliating legislation aimed at them by the South African authorities.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is now my pleasing duty to tender in your name the best thanks of this meeting to Mr. Ritch for the very able paper he has read.

APPENDIX.

REPORT OF DEPUTATION TO THE COLONIAL SECRETARY.

COLONIAL OFFICE,

Thursday, November 8, 1906.

PROCEEDINGS AT A DEPUTATION TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF ELGIN, ON BEHALF OF THE BRITISH-INDIAN SUBJECTS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THE deputation consisted of the following gentlemen: Lord Stanley of Alderley, Mr. O. Ally and Mr. Gandhi, delegates from the Transvaal, Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Mr. J. D. Rees, C.I.E., M.P., Sir George Birdwood, K.C.S.I., Sir Henry Cotton, K.C.S.I., M.P., Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Mr. Ameer Ali, C.I.E., Mr. Harold Cox, M.P., Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L.

THE EARL OF ELGIN: I should like to say, gentlemen, that I made this interview a private one, because I thought, from experience of other meetings, of the same sort, we should be better able to discuss the matter friendly across the table without the presence of public reporters. At the same time, I am quite aware that the deputation wish to go into matters of some detail, and therefore I have made arrangements for a note to be taken, so that anything which may be said shall be on record.

Then, I should like to say one other word. I recognise among the deputation some of those with whom I have had the pleasure of working in India, and I hope they have explained to the deputation, if it was necessary, that my sentiments would all be in favour of doing anything I could for the interest of the British-Indians. (Hear, hear.)

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN: My Lord, what you have just said makes my duty in introducing the delegates more easy. We are very much obliged to your Lordship for admitting this deputation of men who are all known to you as gentlemen connected with India, who have been most of them in India themselves, and all are interested in India; and we are very glad, without any question of party feeling, because all sides are represented in this deputation, to introduce to you the delegates from South Africa—Mr. Gandhi, who is, as your Lordship is aware,

a barrister of the Inner Temple, and a man who in the late Boer War and in the late rising in Natal has done most excellent work for the country in organizing ambulance corps and in other ways—he practises now in Johannesburg—and Mr. Ally, his colleague, who is the representative of the Mohammedan part of the Indian community in the Transvaal, a merchant of very good position, and the founder and, I believe, the Chairman of the Islamic Association in the Transvaal. To those gentlemen I propose to leave any details of the Ordinance which has now been passed, and which we are about to ask His Majesty's Government to veto. But I would like to say a few words in explaining the matter now before the Colonial Office, and I shall take up the time of your Lordship only for a few minutes.

I have been asked to present this deputation principally, I fancy, because I happen to be the Chairman of the Council of the East India Association, of which your Lordship is a distinguished Vice-President; but the question which the East India Association has so often urged upon successive Colonial Secretaries and Secretaries for India and Viceroy of India is not directly concerned in our presence here to-day. The bed-rock, as your Lordship is aware, of the East India Association's position is that all well-conducted, loyal, and industrious British subjects, whatever their race or colour, should receive equal rights in all Colonies of the British Empire—that is the bed-rock of justice which has always been refused in the past, but on which the East India Association, which is represented largely here to-day, must continue to rely, and from which it must continue to make its protest. That, my Lord, is not precisely the question which this deputation desires to put forward this afternoon; they are not making any of those large claims which we have before made: they only ask that a certain Ordinance applying to the Transvaal alone may not receive the sanction of His Majesty's Government.

A few words only are necessary on this point. During the Boer government the British Indians were treated with considerable harshness, but their immigration into the Transvaal was not prohibited, and with the exception of a fee for license for adult traders, they were not interfered with. But their position was an exceedingly uncomfortable one, and many protests were raised, which we understood when the country fell into the hands of the English would be redressed.

So far from being redressed their position is made worse, and the rules for registration and identification were made exceedingly more rigorous. The Ordinance which has now been passed, makes, whatever people in South Africa may choose to say, their position infinitely worse and more degrading. It may be said in the Transvaal that these rules are for the benefit of the Indians, but the toad under the harrow knows where the harrow grips him, and the Indians in the Transvaal consider that the new regulations of this Ordinance are a grievance and an insult which is almost too grievous to be borne, and I for one most strongly support their claim and their protest.

Under this Ordinance everyone in the Transvaal is exposed to the most rigorous investigation: the impressions of his fingers are to be recorded on every pass; no one is allowed in—man, woman, or child—without registration of so rigorous a character that it has been unheard of in any civilized country within my recollection. Under this regulation every Indian in the Transvaal, whether an adult male, woman, or a child, and even babes in arms, will be obliged to be registered under such conditions as only ordinarily apply to convicts in a civilized country; and evasion or ignorance, or even forgetfulness, on this point is punished by crushing fines, by imprisonment with hard labour, by expulsion, and by ruin. You, my Lord, who have been Viceroy of India, and whose sympathy is with that country, must know that legislation of this sort is unheard of under the British flag; indeed, to-day in Europe I may say, without any exaggeration, that, with the exception of Russian legislation against the Jews, there is no legislation comparable to it on the continent of Europe, and in England if we wanted a similar case we should have to go back to the time of the Plantagenets.

And against whom is this legislation directed? Against the most orderly, honourable, industrious, temperate race in the world, people of our own stock and blood, with whom our language has, as a sister language, been connected. There is no occasion in the presence of people connected with India, who know its history, to say what the Indian community is to-day—it is almost an insult to refer to it.

And by whom is this legislation instigated? I am told, and I believe it, that

it is not by the best part of the British community in the Transvaal, who are, I believe, in favour of giving all reasonable privileges to British-Indian subjects; it is by the alien foreign population, who are, perhaps, to some extent inconvenienced by Indian traders, who are so very much more temperate and industrious than themselves. It does not come from the English. The legislation is prompted and the prejudice against the Indians is encouraged by the aliens—by Russian Jews, by Syrians, by German Jews, by every class of aliens, the very off-scourings of the international sewers of Europe. The English residents, against whom I do not wish to say one word of criticism, are apart from the other races of the Transvaal, which is only a Colony by conquest, not by settlement, and it is the aliens who are opposed to this honourable Indian community.

My Lord, I do not wish to take up more of your time, but what I would to-day ask you, as representing His Majesty's Government, and as we know your sympathies are with the Indians, over whom you have ruled with so much distinction, to procure the vetoing of this Ordinance. No large questions are brought before you to-day by this deputation. They are not asking for political rights; they are not asking for gratitude for their great and devoted services in the Transvaal War, where so many of them lost their lives in their devotion to England, doing as courageous work as any one of the members of the armies which were sent by England, by Australia, or by Canada. Those services have not been recognised; on the contrary, they have been ignored, and further burdens have been placed upon them. We ask for nothing to-day except the merest, barest justice. We ask that the whips with which the Boers have scourged them may not be changed into scorpions wielded by the British Government.

I would say in conclusion that we hope everything from the present Government, and for this reason—that the grievances of the Chinese have received the utmost sympathy at the hands of the Government; but so far as this deputation is concerned, the Chinese and other alien nations do not count. We ask not for the Chinese, but for our own fellow-subjects; and we ask that justice, if not generosity, may be dealt out to them, and that your Lordship will save them from insult and oppression.

It was at your Lordship's request that this deputation was a small one; it might have been indefinitely expanded. This is a test case, a question of going forward or going back. Your Lordship, as a past Viceroy of India, is aware that the attention of the whole of India—300 millions of Indians—is intent to-day upon the decision which will be given in this room, and I beg your Lordship to think and to remember that, besides the Indians of Indian birth, against whom the insults of this Ordinance are directed, there are the whole body of Indian officials, to which I and most of the members of this deputation belong, who are insulted with the natives of India. Is it not to be supposed that we who have worked with the Indians, we who have governed the provinces of India under your Lordship, and under your predecessors and successors, have been governing degraded creatures, who are placed lower even than the Zulus and Russian Jews?

No, my Lord. We trust to you to do what you can to defend the people whom you have governed so well. And I will beg you to excuse any warmth in my way of speaking, because I assure you that any warmth in my words is very much exceeded by the feeling of shame and resentment which fills my heart at the way in which the British-Indians of the Transvaal are treated to-day by the temporary settlers—I will not call them colonists—of that country.

MR. GANDHI: Both Mr. Ally and I are very much obliged to your Lordship for giving us the opportunity of placing the British-Indian position before you. Supported though we are by distinguished Anglo-Indian friends and others, I feel that the task before Mr. Ally and myself is very difficult, because your Lordship, in reply to the cablegram sent to you through Lord Selborne, after the great Indian mass meeting in Johannesburg, was pleased to inform the British-Indian Association that, although you would be pleased to give us every opportunity of stating our case, no good purpose was likely to be served, as your Lordship had approved of the principle of the Ordinance, in that it gave some measure of relief to the British-Indian community, though not as much as His Majesty's Government would desire. We, who are the men on the spot, and who are affected by the Ordinance in question, have ventured to think otherwise. We have felt that this Ordinance does not give us any relief whatsoever; it is a measure which places British-Indians in a far worse position than

before, and makes the lot of the British-Indian well nigh intolerable. Under the Ordinance, the British-Indian is assumed to be a criminal. If a stranger not knowing the circumstances of the Transvaal were to read the Ordinance, he would have no hesitation in coming to the conclusion that an Ordinance of that nature, which carries so many penalties, and wounds the British-Indian community on all sides, must only apply to thieves or a gang of robbers. I venture, therefore, to think that, although Sir Lepel Griffin has used strong language in connection with the Ordinance, he has not at all exaggerated, but every word of it is justified. At the same time, I beg to state that the Ordinance as amended does not apply to British-Indian females. The draft Ordinance undoubtedly applied to females also, but, owing to the very strong protest made by the British-Indian Association and Mr. Ally separately, as Chairman of the Hamidia Islamic Society, pointing out the great violence that would have been done to female sanctity, if I may say so, the Ordinance was amended so as to take females out of its operation. But it applies to all adult males, and even to children, in that the parents or guardians have to take out registration certificates for their children or wards, as the case may be.

It is a fundamental maxim of the British law that everyone is presumed to be innocent until he is found guilty, but the Ordinance reverses the process, and brands every Indian as guilty, and leaves no room for him to prove his innocence. There is absolutely nothing proved against us, and yet every British-Indian, no matter what his status is, is to be condemned as guilty, and not treated as an innocent man. My Lord, it is not possible for British-Indians to reconcile themselves to an Ordinance of this nature. I do not know that such an Ordinance is applicable to free British subjects in any part of His Majesty's dominions.

Moreover, what the Transvaal thinks to-day, the other Colonies think to-morrow. When Lord Milner sprung his bazaar notice on British-Indians, the whole of South Africa rang with the idea. The term "bazaar" is a misnomer; it has been really applied to locations where trade is utterly impossible. However, a proposal was seriously made after a bazaar notice by the then Mayor of Natal, Mr. Ellis Brown, that Indians should be relegated to bazaars. There is not the slightest reason why this Ordinance also, if it ever becomes law, should not be copied by the other parts of South Africa. The position to-day in Natal is that even indentured Indians are not required to carry passes as contemplated by the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance; nor are there any penalties attached to the non-carrying of passes as are defined in the Ordinance under discussion. We have already shown in our humble representation that no relief has been granted by this Ordinance, because the remission of the £3 fee referred to by Mr. Duncan is quite illusory, because all we British-Indians resident in the Transvaal who are obliged to pay £3 under Law 3 of 1885, and those who under Lord Selborne's promises are likely to be allowed to re-enter the Transvaal, have paid the £3 already.

The authority to issue temporary permits is also superfluous, in that the Government have already exercised the power, and there are to-day in the Transvaal several Indians in possession of temporary permits. They are liable to be expelled from the Colony on the expiry of their permits.

The relief under the Liquor Ordinance is, British-Indians feel, a wanton insult. So much was this recognised by the local Government, that they immediately assured the Indians that it was not intended for British-Indians at all, but for somebody else. We have no connection with anybody else, and we have always endeavoured to show that the British-Indians ought to be treated as British subjects, and ought not to be included with the general body of Asiatics, with respect to whom there may be a need for some restrictions which ought not to apply to British-Indians as British subjects.

There remains one more statement—that is, in connection with the land owned by the late Aboo Baker. That land should belong to the heirs by right, but under the interpretation reluctantly put upon it by the Supreme Court, that it is only individual in character, and does not touch the community, the land cannot be transmitted to the heirs. The Ordinance is intended to rectify the error, but as I had the honour to represent the heirs, I ventured to think that even they would not consent to pay for getting this relief at the price, in the nature of the Ordinance for British Indians; and certainly the Indian community can never exchange for the relief given to the heirs of the land of Aboo Baker an Ordinance of this nature, which requires them to pay so great a price for what is really their own. So that under the Ordinance, in that

respect again, there is absolutely no relief. As I said before, we shall be under the Ordinance branded as criminals.

My Lord, the existing legislation is severe enough. I hold in my hands returns from the court of the magistrate at Volksrust. Over 150 successful prosecutions of Indians attempting to enter the Transvaal have taken place during the years 1905 and 1906. All these prosecutions, I venture to say, are by no means just. I venture to believe that if these prosecutions were gone into, you would see that some of them were absolutely groundless.

So far as the question of identification is concerned, the present laws are quite enough. I produce to your Lordship the registration certificate held by me, and it will show how complete it is to establish identification. The present law can hardly be called an amendment. I produce before your Lordship a registration receipt held by my colleague, Mr. Ally, from the Transvaal Government. Your Lordship will see that it is merely a receipt for £3. The registration under the present Ordinance is of a different type. When Lord Milner wished to enforce Law 3 of 1885, he suggested new registration. We protested against it, but on his strong advice as a voluntary act, we allowed ourselves to be newly registered, and hence the form produced before your Lordship. At the time the registration was undertaken Lord Milner stated emphatically that it was a measure once for all, and that it would form a complete title to residence by those who held such registration certificates. Is all this now to be undone?

Your Lordship is doubtless aware of the Punia case, wherein a poor Indian woman in the company of her husband was torn away from her husband and was ordered by the magistrate to leave the country within seven hours. Fortunately, relief was granted in the end, as the matter was taken up in time. A boy under eleven years was also arrested and sentenced to pay a fine of £50 or to go to gaol for three months, and at the end of it to leave the country. In this case again the Supreme Court has been able to grant justice. The conviction was pronounced to be wholly bad, and Sir James Rose Innes stated that the Administration would bring upon itself ridicule and contempt if such a policy was pursued. If the existing legislation is strong enough and severe enough to thus prosecute British-Indians, is it not enough to keep out of the Colony British-Indians who may attempt fraudulently to enter it?

It has been stated that the reason for passing the Ordinance is that there is an unauthorized influx of British-Indians into the Transvaal on a wholesale scale, and that there is an attempt on the part of the Indian community to introduce Indians in such a manner. The last charge has been, times without number, repudiated by the Indian community, and the makers of the charge have been challenged to prove their statement. The first statement has also been denied.

I ought to mention one thing also—that is, the fourth resolution that was passed at the British-Indian mass meeting. It was passed by the meeting solemnly, prayerfully, and in all humility, and the whole of that great meeting decided by that resolution that if this Ordinance ever came to be enforced and we did not get relief, the British-Indians, rather than submit to the great degradation involved in it, would go to gaol—such was the intensity of the feeling aroused by the Ordinance. We have hitherto suffered much in the Transvaal and in other parts of South Africa; but the hardship has been tolerable; we have not considered it necessary to travel 6,000 miles to place the position before the Imperial Government. But the straining point has been reached by the Ordinance, and we felt that we should in all humility exhaust every resource, even to the extent of sending a deputation to wait on your Lordship.

The least, therefore, that in my humble opinion is due to the British-Indian community is to appoint a Commission, as suggested in the humble representation submitted to your Lordship. It is a time-honoured British custom that whenever an important principle is involved, a Commission is appointed before a step is taken. The question of alien immigration into the United Kingdom is a parallel case. Charges somewhat similar to the charges against the Indian community were made against the aliens who entered the United Kingdom. There was also the question of the adequacy of the existing legislation and the necessity for further legislation. All these three points were referred to a Commission before any step was taken. I therefore venture to think that a Commission should be appointed, and the whole question thrashed out before any drastic measures are taken.

I venture therefore to hope that your Lordship will see your way to grant this small measure of relief to the British-Indian community.

MR. H. O. ALLY: My Lord, we are very much obliged to you for the patient hearing your Lordship is giving to the deputation. Mr. Gandhi has stated the case fully before your Lordship, and I do not wish to add much to what has already been said. I am not a lawyer, but as a layman, and as a resident of old standing in the Transvaal, I do wish to submit to your Lordship that the hardships that the present Ordinance would inflict upon us are unbearable. And I can assure your Lordship that, immediately the Ordinance was introduced into the Legislative Council of the Transvaal, my fellow-countrymen felt, and felt very keenly, to think that such laws can be passed under a British Government. It is what I should never have believed years ago.

Our lot is to-day infinitely worse than under the Boer régime. We were able to get protection from the British Government during that time. Are we now, under the same Government, to be persecuted?

When aliens of all classes are, at the very moment that the Ordinance is introduced, pouring into the Transvaal, and when they enjoy all the rights and privileges granted to British subjects, my countrymen, who are always to the fore for the defence of the Empire, are suffering these serious disabilities and the disabilities threatened by the Ordinance. To-day in India the frontier is guarded by my countrymen, who shoulder the rifle in defence of the Empire, and it is very grievous that they should have to suffer such misery, and that there should be class legislation against them of this type.

I appeal for justice, and I appeal to your Lordship in the name of the British traditions, that you will be pleased to remove the disability that the Ordinance will place upon us by vetoing it, or at least by granting a Commission. We are loyal British subjects, and as such we are entitled to the fullest protection. We have not asked for, and we do not now ask for, political rights; we are content that the white man should be predominant in the Transvaal; but we do feel that we are entitled to all the other ordinary rights that a British subject should enjoy.

SIR HENRY COTTON: I wish to say one word, my Lord, if I may. I am here not only as a retired Indian official, like many distinguished men I see around me, but also as a member of the present Parliament and as chairman of a meeting which sat in the Grand Committee Room upstairs in the House of Commons attended by more than 100 members of the Liberal party. I take this opportunity of saying that I deeply regret that the invitations to attend that meeting were not extended to both sides of the House. (Hear, hear.) It was an unfortunate oversight, which we all regret. But that meeting, I say, was attended by 100 and more members of the House of Commons, and their feeling was very strong indeed upon this subject; indeed, they went so far as to record a resolution that they sympathized with and supported the prayer of the petitioners. Since that meeting, my Lord, I have been brought in contact with many members of the House of Commons who were not present at the meeting, gentlemen on both sides of the House. Many gentlemen on the opposite benches have also intimated to me that there is a complete sympathy with the attitude taken up by Messrs. Gandhi and Ally on behalf of their fellow-subjects in the Transvaal.

I wish also, in associating myself as I do completely with the observations which fell from Sir Lepel Griffin, to remind your Lordship that it was Lord Lansdowne, for whom we all have the greatest regard and respect, who, although he is the leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords, is at all events, as we know very well, a most liberal-minded statesman, who drew prominent attention in England to the grievances which the British-Indians in the Transvaal suffered from under President Kruger's administration. Nothing, he said, roused so much indignation in his mind or so much anger as the ill-treatment which the British-Indians received in South Africa. And he went further even in his speech—it was a speech delivered at Sheffield two or three weeks after the outbreak of war—for he said that he regarded with grave anxiety the state of feeling which must inevitably exist in India when it was known that the British subjects of India in South Africa were so ill-treated and ground down. And he pointed out the imperative duty of the British Government to improve their status and position.

Now, my Lord, that was a pledge which was given by the head of the Opposition in the House of Lords, and I appeal to you, my Lord, as the representative of the Liberal Government, in dealing with this matter of South Africa that your duty is at least as decisive as Lord Lansdowne claimed for himself a few years ago. It is true that the people of India do feel this matter very

deeply. It is true, also, that the British-Indians in South Africa have greater grievances to complain of now than they had under the Dutch Government, and the climax has been reached in the passing of this Ordinance, of which Messrs. Gandhi and I here so grievously complain. Representing as I do a very influential and large section of the House of Commons, and, I believe, the almost unanimous official feeling in India on the subject, I do trust that your Lordship will be able to give this petition your favourable consideration.

SIR M. BHOWNAGGERE: My Lord, I think the case has been so ably and clearly put before your Lordship that there is not the least occasion for me to go into any details, and if I feel called upon to address your Lordship for a very few minutes, it is simply on account of the interest I took in this question all through my ten and a half years' career in Parliament. I want to bring to your Lordship's notice a few points which perhaps may not be within your knowledge.

In complaining of the grievances of British-Indian subjects in South Africa, I had opportunities of seeing your predecessors, Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Lyttelton, very often on the subject. My activity had taken the form at last of a long printed letter, in which I detailed the whole narrative of the facts, and Mr. Lyttelton thereupon assured me that the case had been so fairly put, and the demands made so reasonable, that he hoped to get some relief. I, on the other hand, knew what the local forces of opposition to a liberal policy on the part of any Ministry of the Imperial Government would be, and while I thanked him for his sympathetic answer, I told him it may be necessary to appoint a Commission to inquire into the whole subject. Sir George Farrar, who represented the anti-British-Indian interest in the Transvaal Legislature, also happened at the same time to suggest that the appointment of a Commission would ventilate the matter, and might bring some solution of that very difficult problem. Thereupon I addressed Mr. Lyttelton again, accepting Sir George Farrar's offer, and matters were in that train, and I believe Mr. Lyttelton would have ultimately appointed a Commission, but the Government of which he was a member then went out of office. Recognising the very difficult position in which the whole question stands, I now urge that a Commission might be appointed, pending the report of which this Ordinance might at least be held in abeyance, so that you may have the benefit of judging the whole question by the report of that Commission.

I have only one word to add, my Lord. For five years your Lordship has been the custodian and a guardian of Indian interests, and a protector of their rights during a memorable and distinguished Viceroyalty. To-day, as our leader, Sir Lepel Griffin, has well said, the eyes of all Indians are focussed on the proceedings which are taking place in this room, and I am only expressing the sentiments of the three hundred millions of people in India when I express the hope that your Lordship will, on account of the sympathy which you have shown, and which I believe you are ready to show, and of which even on our entrance into this room you assured us, allow no other consideration but that of justice to weigh with you, and will grant the prayer which these gentlemen have come all this long distance here to ask at your hands.

MR. REES: I am not going, my Lord, into the subject of the merits of the case—I think they were amply dealt with by Sir Lepel Griffin—nor am I going to speak of my interest in this subject, which I have often brought before Parliament myself; but when Sir Henry Cotton spoke of the meeting yesterday, I should like to say that it was not only a party meeting, but it was a meeting of a part of a party, and that I do deprecate with all my heart and soul, in a matter which is of such serious importance, any endeavour to make any subject connected with British India a party subject. I do not think there can be a more serious matter than this very serious one upon which we have come before your Lordship—viz., the unfortunate manner in which our fellow-subjects have been treated in the Transvaal.

MR. HAROLD COX: My Lord, I am in a somewhat different position from most of the gentlemen here, because I am neither an ex-official of the Government of India, nor am I myself Indian by birth; but I did have the honour personally of serving in India for two years under a native Prince, and I look back to that period of my life with the greatest pleasure. That is one special reason why I am here to-day. But at the back of my mind the real reason why I am here to-day is because I am English, and because I think this matter is a disgrace to my country. Our country was pledged when we went to war with

the Transvaal to do justice to the British-Indians. That justice has not been done, and I contend that it is not possible for the present Government, of which your Lordship is a part, to ride off on the plea that the Transvaal is a self-governing Colony. It is not a self-governing Colony. It is absolutely subject to your authority, and whatever is done by you to-day, or at any other time, is done, not in the name of the Transvaal, but in the name of the English people; and in the name of the English people I protest against any injustice being done to British subjects.

MR. NAOROJI: I do not want to take up your Lordship's time, and after the able manner in which the whole subject has been laid before you, I would only join in the appeal that has been made to you on behalf of my fellow-subjects under the British flag. If there is one principle more important than another, it is that of the freedom of British subjects under the British flag, and I do hope that the British Government, especially a Liberal Government, will stand upon that basis.

MR. AMEER ALI: Will your Lordship allow me to make one observation only? Perhaps my recent experience of India is the most recent of all. I venture to say this—that the feelings of India are very strong on this subject of the injury done to British-Indians in the Transvaal, and it will be a serious mistake if the subject is put on one side. That is the only matter I want to present to your Lordship.

THE EARL OF ELGIN: In the first place, I would like to say that I entirely accept the position which Mr. Cox put upon me. I am responsible, no doubt, for the advice which is given in this matter, and nobody else, and I do not wish to shirk my responsibility. In the second case, I wish also to express my adherence to what was said by Mr. Rees, Sir Henry Cotton, and others, that I regard this as no party question at all. Sir Henry Cotton quoted from Lord Lansdowne, but I had before me a despatch from the Colonial Secretary of the last Government, from which I should like to read one paragraph:

"His Majesty's Government cannot believe that the British community in the Transvaal appreciate the true nature of the proposition which some of its members are pressing upon you. They as Britons are as jealous of the honour of the British name as ourselves, and even if a material sacrifice were necessary to vindicate that honour, I feel assured they would cheerfully make it. His Majesty's Government hold that it is derogatory to national honour to impose on resident British subjects disabilities against which we had remonstrated, and to which even the law of the late South African Republic rightly interpreted did not subject them, and they do not doubt that, when this is perceived, the public opinion of the Colony will not any longer support the demand which has been put forward."

SIR HENRY COTTON: May I ask which Colonial Secretary that was?

THE EARL OF ELGIN: It was from Mr. Lyttelton, written in 1904.

Now, I understand from the gentlemen who have come before me to-day that we are not here to discuss general sympathies; nor even are we to consider anything further than the rights which the British-Indian communities possessed in the past. They do not ask at this present moment for an extension of those rights. That limits the matter, as I think you wish it to be limited, to the question of this Ordinance itself.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN: For the present, my Lord. We are going to fight the question hereafter.

THE EARL OF ELGIN: Oh yes, I am thinking of to-day, and the answer I have to give.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN: Yes.

THE EARL OF ELGIN: I only make that observation in order that I may be precise in my answer. The question therefore is with reference to this Ordinance, and following up the remark I made just now about its being no party question, I hope you will accept it from me that it was no intention of the men at the head of the Transvaal Government; they distinctly stated so to me, that they had no intention whatever in the legislation they brought forward to do otherwise than to improve, rather than to make worse, the condition of the British-Indian community. I am not saying that the subject is not perfectly open to your criticisms, but I wish you to accept from me that that was the intention with which this legislation was brought forward.

Now, Mr. Gandhi explains that in some cases—for instance, in the case of the poll-tax—this concession, which was supposed to be given under the Ordinance,

was illusory. I admit that I think there was something in his statement that most of those who would come under the restriction I have mentioned would probably have paid the £3. But, at the same time, dealing with this as a matter of the status of the British-Indians in the Transvaal, I can see that the Government might quite fairly have held that in removing the imposition of the poll-tax once for all they were *pro tanto* improving the status of the British-Indians.

Then, with regard to the question of permits or registration, we have seen one of the permits given under the Boer administration. It is merely a receipt for the money. The Boer administration in that respect, as well as in a good many others, was not so accurate as the administration which necessarily with our ideas obtains under the British Government, and therefore I am only stating the view which has been put before me. The view of the Government of the Transvaal is this: that as it stood under the rules of the Boer Government, which they had inherited, there was great confusion, and there were great administrative difficulties, and that consequently there was a considerable degree of friction, and also there arose considerable delay in the determination of cases, of which I see traces in the petition itself. It was for that purpose, as I understand it, that the Government of the Transvaal proposed to substitute the form of registration; but, according to their representations to me, there was no intention whatever of making that form of registration in any way more oppressive than the form of permits properly administered.

And, if I may just for a moment—I do not want to go into all the details—follow this question of thumb-marks, I think that thumb-marks first came into notice prominently when Sir Henry Cotton and I were associated in the government of India under our friend Mr. Henry, who occupies a prominent position in this city now. No doubt the imposition of thumb-marks was introduced in that case for the detection of criminals, but I do not know why the imposition of a thumb-mark in itself should be a very debasing operation; in fact, as they say, it has always seemed to me a most marvellous thing that they say they can trace every thumb-mark. There might be an advantage over the hieroglyphics which some of us call our signatures. And there is this fact I want just to mention, and to bring to the notice of Mr. Gandhi—that on the permit which he has handed to me, issued under the present Ordinance, there is a thumb-mark already imposed under the present Ordinance, in just the same way as it will be imposed under the new Ordinance.

MR. GANDHI: Only that that, as I said, is a purely voluntary act done by us on the advice and the instigation of Lord Milner. He asked us to do it.

THE EARL OF ELGIN: Quite so; but, still, here is a certificate which is an unofficial certificate, and it bears a thumb-mark.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY: It was affixed without prejudice.

THE EARL OF ELGIN: I do not see why it should not be affixed to the registration certificate without prejudice.

SIR M. M. BROWNAGREE: Might I explain one thing here? Whatever Lord Milner asked British-Indians to do was done on the understanding that the whole question of the treatment of the community was one of consideration between the Colonial Secretary for the time being and Lord Milner and the local authorities; so that they might have submitted to Lord Milner's injunction in a respectful way, and, as Lord Stanley just now said, without prejudice. But this imposes a sort of distinction between one subject and another in the Transvaal.

THE EARL OF ELGIN: Do not suppose I am taking it further than this; I am only saying here is a document which at present is in use with a thumb-mark, and it cannot be called debasing.

MR. GANDHI: It is the ten-finger-mark.

THE EARL OF ELGIN: Is it more debasing with ten fingers?

SIR HENRY COTTON: It is only required in the case of criminals.

THE EARL OF ELGIN: I do not want to argue it, but I think there is just that much to be said. Then there is one matter about registration—that is, that if the system of registration was carried out, it would give a final indefeasible title to those who are registered to their rights in the Transvaal. That is the position of the Transvaal Government on that matter. And as regards the carrying of a pass, and any oppressive use of the power of inspection, I am informed—and I have taken some trouble to ascertain it—that all that would be intended, so far as checking the Ordinance certificate is concerned, is

that it would probably be inspected once a year. As regards any other casual demand for it, it would be, as I am told, exactly in the same position as this permit is, which, if I am right, may be demanded from anybody in the Transvaal. That is the position. I do not want to elaborate too much on this subject; I only wish to make this explanation—that those were the sorts of reasons which the Government of the Transvaal put before me when they asked my assent to the introduction of the legislation on these grounds, and it is distinctly upon my apprehension that these modifications of the law would in the long run be for the benefit, and not for the oppression, of the British-Indian community, that I gave my assent to the introduction of the legislation.

Now, gentlemen, we are in this position—that this is challenged. I think I ought to say, without in any way challenging the authority with which Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Ally come here, as the representatives of a large meeting, that I have got telegrams from the Transvaal advising me of the forwarding of a petition from British-Indians, which they say has been largely signed, in opposition to the views which have been placed before me to-day; and with regard to the general feeling I have to-day received two more telegrams—I say two more, because there are a good many others from different municipalities in the country—urging the passing of the Ordinance, and so on. I cannot, therefore, entirely subscribe to what Sir Lepel Griffin said about the opposition, and the nature of the opposition to this matter. I regret it more than anybody in this room. I suppose there could be found, if not in the records of this office, at any rate in the records of the India Office, despatches with my signature attached to them protesting, in as strong language as has been used here, against the restrictions on British citizens, and I do not go back from one single word. But we have to recognise the fact that all over the world there are difficulties arising on the part of white communities, and we have to reckon with them. I do not say that they ought always to succeed; they certainly ought not to succeed in points of detail which would in any way involve oppression. But the fact of there being that sentiment has to be borne in mind when we have to deal with matters of this description.

I do not think I have much more to reply to. A reference has been made to the proposition towards the end of the petition that at any rate there might be a postponement for the examination of the subject by a Commission. That, no doubt, is an alternative which might be adopted; but I am not in a position to-day to say whether that is so or not. Indeed, I think you will easily acknowledge that I did you the best compliment when I did not endeavour to make up my mind until I had seen you and heard what you have to say. That is my position. I have now heard what Mr. Gandhi had to say. I hope he has put before me as fully as he desired what he had come so far to say. I have heard the other gentlemen who have accompanied him. I will give the best consideration to their representations, and I shall think it my duty to make up my mind with the full responsibility which I have to assume.

MR. GANDHI: May I make one statement, my Lord, for one minute? I have listened with the very greatest attention and with very great obligation to your Lordship's statement, but I must submit that the information placed before your Lordship on some point is not accurate, and I am in a position to refute that information by documentary evidence with regard to permits, as your Lordship used the term in connection with the Ordinance of 1885, but this is not the occasion when I could do it. If your Lordship will ask us to wait upon you we will do it. But that just shows that nothing short of a Commission would place our position accurately before your Lordship.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN: My Lord, I beg on behalf of the deputation to express our best thanks for the exceedingly kind and courteous way in which you have received us, and the patience with which you have listened to what we had to say. We were assured before of your full sympathy in this matter, and knew it perfectly well.

The deputation then withdrew.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

AKBAR'S CHAPEL.

It has often been doubted if the singular throne-column in Fathpur-Sikri, of which there is a copy in the Victoria and Albert Museum, was part of Akbar's 'Ibādatkhāna, or Hall of Worship. Perhaps the following quotation from the *Zubdatu-t-tawārīkh* of Nūru-l-Ḥaqq may tend to settle the question in the affirmative. Nūru-l-Ḥaqq was a contemporary of Akbar, and in an MS. of his work in the British Museum, Rieu's Catalogue, 224*b*, it is stated at p. 195*a* that at the side of the palace (dar jānīb daulat-khāna) Akbar made a Sūfistic nest and seat with Sūfī appendages (kāshāna Sūfiyāna u nisheman ba sufiyāna), which was called the 'Ibādatkhāna. The words nest and seat seem to describe the throne-column. Probably the general audience stood below, and one or two representatives of each sect occupied the galleries which run out from the central shaft.

H. BEVERIDGE.

OPIUM AS AN ANTIDOTE TO MALARIA AND
DYSENTERY.

SIR,

China is a malaria-stricken country, as will be seen by reading the following extract from Major-General Sir Alexander B. Tulloch's interesting book, "Recollections of Forty Years' Service": "We arrived at Hong Kong the beginning of November (1858), and joined the 2nd Battalion, then quartered on board an old three-decker, the *Princess Charlotte*, until the shore barracks were vacated by the 59th, which had been nine years at Hong Kong, and in that time had buried the regiment three times over. The mortality in those days was appalling, as we were soon to find out. The Royals landed in November, 1858, and by the same time next year they had lost from fever and

dysentery, out of 800 men, no less than 235. There also died in the same time half the women *and all the children.*" The italics are mine. I really cannot write more at present on this subject without entering upon the question of the organized hypocrisy that is responsible for the campaign against opium, so, in conclusion, I should like to tell the man who is troubled with a Nonconformist conscience that

"I think that saving a little child,
And fetching him to his own,
Is a derved sight better business
Than loafing around the throne."

DONALD NORMAN REID.

INDIAN CRIMINAL LAW AND PRISON SYSTEM.

SIR,

A special committee of the Humanitarian League having lately been established to advocate, among other objects, the amelioration of the Indian criminal law and prison system and the legal prohibition of the grosser forms of cruelty perpetrated on the "lower animals," I am requested to make an appeal to all those who wish to see these humanitarian reforms accomplished to give us that practical aid without which no successful propaganda can be carried on.

As a guarantee of the broadly humane principle on which our action is based, I may mention that the Indian Humanitarian Committee includes the following well-known names: Mr. Herbert Burrows, Mrs. H. Bradlaugh Bonner, Mr. Edward Carpenter, Dr. A. K. Comaraswamy, Sir Henry Cotton, M.P., K.C.S.I., Colonel H. B. Hanna, Mr. Labhshankar Laxmidas, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. William Tebb, F.R.G.S., Sir J. H. Thornton, K.C.B., Sir Edmund Verney, Bart., and Sir William Wedderburn, Bart.

The following publications have already been issued: "Empire in India," by Edward Carpenter; "Corporal Punishment in India," by Sir Henry Cotton, M.P.; "The Labour System of Assam," by H. Bradlaugh Bonner; "Pasteurism in India," by Sir J. H. Thornton; "What it

Costs to be Vaccinated," by Joseph Collinson, etc. A copy of any one of these pamphlets, together with our manifesto, will be forwarded free of charge to any of our readers. Donations will be devoted solely to the work of the Indian Humanitarian Committee.

JOSEPH COLLINSON,
Hon. Sec.

HUMANITARIAN LEAGUE,
53, CHANCERY LANE, LONDON.

THE SALT TAX IN INDIA.

The Indian Humanitarian Committee (a special department of the Humanitarian League which has been established to deal with Indian questions) has passed the following resolution :

"This Committee of the Humanitarian League have heard with much satisfaction the recent announcement of the Secretary of State for India concerning a further decrease in the Salt Tax; and as this impost is regarded with strong disapproval, both in India and in England, urges upon His Majesty's Government the advisability of laying down a deliberate policy, with a view to the ultimate abolition, within a reasonably brief period, of a tax that is not only grossly unjust but most cruel in its administration."*

THE MAHOMEDAN DEPUTATION TO LORD MINTO.

The following is the text of the address presented to Lord Minto by the Mahomedan representatives at Simla on October 1 last, and Lord Minto's reply :

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

"Availing ourselves of the permission accorded to us, we, the undersigned, nobles, jagirdars, taluqdars, lawyers, zamindars, merchants, and others, representing a large body of the Mahomedan subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor in different parts of India, beg most respectfully to approach Your Excellency with the following address for your favourable consideration :

"We fully realize and appreciate the incalculable benefits conferred by British rule on the many millions belonging to divers races and professing

* See letter from Mr. Pennington among our "Correspondence" in this issue.

divers religions who form the population of the vast continent of India, and have every reason to be grateful for the peace, security, personal freedom, and liberty of worship that we now enjoy. Further, from the wise and enlightened character of the Government, we have every reasonable ground for anticipation that these benefits will be progressive, and that India will in the future occupy an increasingly important position in the community of nations. One of the most important characteristics of British policy in India is the increasing deference that has so far as possible been paid from the first to the views and wishes of the people of the country in matters affecting their interests, and with due regard always to diversity of race and religion, which forms such an important feature of all Indian problems. Beginning with the confidential and unobtrusive method of consulting influential members of important communities in different parts of the country, this principle was gradually extended by the recognition of the right of recognised political or commercial organizations to communicate to the authorities their criticisms and views on measures of public importance, and finally by the nomination and election of direct representatives of the people in District Boards, and, above all, in the Legislative Chambers of the country. This last element is, we understand, about to be dealt with by the Committee appointed by Your Excellency with the view of giving it further extension, and it is with reference mainly to our claim to a lion's share in such extended representations and some other matters of importance affecting the interests of our community that we have ventured to approach Your Excellency on the present occasion.

"The Mahomedans of India number, according to the census taken in the year 1901, over 62 millions, or between one-fifth and one-fourth of the total population of His Majesty's Indian Dominions, and if a reduction be made for the uncivilized portions of the community enumerated under the heads of Animists and other minor religions, as well as for those classes who are ordinarily classified as Hindus, but properly speaking are not Hindus at all, the proportion of Mahomedans to the Hindu majority becomes much larger. We therefore desire to submit that under any system of representation, extended or limited, a community in itself more numerous than the entire population of any first-class European Power except Russia, may justly lay claim to adequate recognition as an important factor in the State. We venture, indeed, with Your Excellency's permission, to go a step further, and urge that the position accorded to the Mahomedan community in any kind of representation, direct or indirect, and otherwise affecting their status and influence, should be commensurate, not merely with their numerical strength, but also with their political importance and the value of the contribution which they make to the defence of the Empire; and we also hope that Your Excellency will in this connection be pleased to give due consideration to the position which they occupied in India a little more than a hundred years ago, and of which the traditions have naturally not faded from their minds.

"The Mahomedans of India have always placed implicit reliance on the sense of justice and love of fair dealing that have characterized their rulers, and have in consequence abstained from pressing their claims by

methods that might prove at all embarrassing, but, earnestly as we desire that the Mahomedans of India should not in the future depart from that excellent and time-honoured tradition, recent events have stirred up feelings, especially among the younger generation of Mahomedans, which might in certain circumstances and under certain contingencies easily pass beyond the control of temperate counsel and sober guidance. We therefore pray that the representations we herewith venture to submit, after careful consideration of the views and wishes of a large number of our co-religionists in all parts of India, may be favoured with Your Excellency's earnest attention.

"We hope Your Excellency will pardon our stating at the outset that representative institutions of the European type are new to the Indian people; many of the most thoughtful members of our community, in fact, consider that the greatest care, forethought, and caution will be necessary if they are to be successfully adapted to the social, religious, and political conditions obtaining in India, and that, in the absence of such care and caution, their adoption is likely among other evils to place our national interests at the mercy of an unsympathetic majority. Since, however, our rulers have, in pursuance of the immemorial instincts and traditions, found it expedient to give these institutions an increasingly important place in the Government of the country, we Mahomedans cannot any longer in justice to our own national interests hold aloof from participating in the conditions to which their policy has given rise. While, therefore, we are bound to acknowledge with gratitude that such representation as the Mahomedans of India have hitherto enjoyed has been due to a sense of justice and fairness on the part of Your Excellency and your illustrious predecessors in office, and the heads of local Governments by whom the Mahomedan members of Legislative Chambers have almost without exception been nominated, we cannot help observing that the representation thus accorded to us has necessarily been inadequate to our requirements, and has not always carried with it the approval of those whom the nominees were selected to represent. This state of things was probably under existing circumstances unavoidable, for while, on the one hand, the number of nominations reserved to the Viceroy and local Governments have necessarily been strictly limited, the selection, on the other hand, of really representative men has, in the absence of any reliable method of ascertaining the direction of popular choice, been far from easy. As for the results of election it is most unlikely that the name of any Mahomedan candidate will ever be submitted for the approval of Government by the electoral bodies as now constituted, unless he is in sympathy with the majority in all matters of importance. Nor can we in fairness find fault with the desire of our non-Moslem fellow-subjects to take full advantage of their strength, and vote only for members of their own community, or for persons who if not Hindus are expected to vote with the Hindus—the majority on whose goodwill they would have to depend for their future re-election. It is true that we have many and important interests in common with our Hindu fellow-countrymen, and it will always be a matter of the utmost satisfaction to us to see these interests safe-guarded by the

presence in our Legislative Chambers of able supporters of these our interests, irrespective of their nationality. Still, it cannot be denied that we Mahomedans are a distinct community, with additional interests of our own which are not shared by other communities, and these have hitherto suffered from the fact that they have not been adequately represented even in the provinces in which the Mahomedans constitute a distinct majority of the population. They have too often been treated as though they were inappreciably small political factors that might without unfairness be neglected. This has been the case to some extent in the Punjab, but in a more marked degree in Sind and in Eastern Bengal.

"Before formulating our views with regard to the election of representatives, we beg to observe that the political importance of a community to a considerable extent gains strength or suffers detriment according to the position that the members of that community occupy in the service of the State. If, as is unfortunately the case with the Mahomedans, they are not adequately represented in this manner, they lose in the prestige and influence which are justly their due. We therefore pray that Government will be graciously pleased to provide that both in the Gazetted and the Subordinate and Ministerial Services of all Indian Provinces a due proportion of Mahomedans shall always find a place. Orders of like import have at times been issued by local Governments in some Provinces, but have not unfortunately in all cases been strictly observed, on the ground that qualified Mahomedans were not forthcoming. This allegation, however well founded it may have been at one time, is we submit no longer tenable now, and wherever the will to employ them is not wanting the supply of qualified Mahomedans, we are happy to be able to assure Your Excellency, is equal to the demand. Since, however, the number of qualified Mahomedans has increased, a tendency is unfortunately perceptible to reject them on the ground of relatively superior qualifications having to be given precedence. This introduces something like the competitive element in its worst form, and we may be permitted to draw Your Excellency's attention to the political significance of the monopoly of all official influence by one class. We may also point out in this connection that the efforts of Mahomedan educationists have from the very outset of the educational movement among them been strenuously directed towards the development of character, and this we venture to think is of greater importance than mere mental alertness in the making of a good public servant.

"We venture to submit that the generality of Mahomedans in all parts of India feel aggrieved that Mahomedan Judges are not more frequently appointed to the High Courts and Chief Courts of Judicature. Since the creation of these Courts only three Mahomedan lawyers have held these honourable appointments, all of whom have fully justified their elevation to the Bench. At the present moment there is not a single Mahomedan Judge sitting on the bench of any of these Courts, while there are three Hindu Judges in the Calcutta High Court, where the proportion of Mahomedans in the population is very large, and two in the Chief Court of the Punjab, where the Mahomedans form the majority of the population.

It is not, therefore, an extravagant request on our part that a Mahomedan should be given a seat on the Bench of each of the High Courts and Chief Courts. Qualified Mahomedan lawyers eligible for these appointments can always be found, if not in one Province then in another. We beg permission, further, to submit that the presence on the Bench of these Courts of a Judge learned in the Mahomedan law will be a source of considerable strength to the administration of justice.

"As Municipal and District Boards have to deal with important local interests affecting to a great extent the health, comfort, educational needs, and even the religious concerns of the inhabitants, we shall, we hope, be pardoned if we solicit for a moment Your Excellency's attention to the position of Mahomedans thereon, before passing to higher concerns. These institutions form, as it were, the initial rungs in the ladder of self-government, and it is here that the principle of representation is brought home intimately to the intelligence of the people. Now the position of Mahomedans on these Boards is not at present regulated by any guiding principle capable of general application, and the practice varies in different localities. The Aligarh Municipality, for example, is divided into six wards, and each ward returns one Hindu and one Mahomedan Commissioner, and the same principle, we understand, is adopted in a number of Municipalities in the Punjab and elsewhere. But in a good many places the Mahomedan taxpayers are not adequately represented. We would, therefore, respectfully suggest that the local authority should in every case be required to declare the number of Hindus and Mahomedans entitled to seats on Municipal and District Boards, such proportion to be determined in accordance with the numerical strength, social status, local influence, and special requirements of either community. Once their relative proportion is authoritatively determined, we would suggest that either community should be allowed severally to return their own representatives, as is the practice in many towns in the Punjab. We would also suggest that the Senates and Syndicates of Indian Universities might be similarly dealt with—that is to say, there should so far as possible be an authoritative declaration of the proportion in which Mahomedans are entitled to be represented in either body.

"We now proceed to the consideration of the question of our representation in the Legislative Chambers of the country. Beginning with the Provincial Councils, we would most respectfully suggest that, as in the case of Municipalities and District Boards, the proportion of Mahomedan representatives entitled to a seat should be determined and declared with due regard to the important considerations which we have ventured to point out in paragraph 5 of this Address, and that the important Mahomedan landowners, lawyers, merchants, and representatives of other important interests, the Mahomedan members of District Boards and Municipalities, and the Mahomedan graduates of Universities of a certain standing, say, five years, should be formed into Electoral Colleges, and be authorized, in accordance with such rules of procedure as Your Excellency's Government may be pleased to prescribe in that behalf, to return the number of members that may be declared to be eligible. With

regard to the Imperial Legislative Council, where the due representation of Mahomedan interests is a matter of vital importance, we crave leave to suggest : (1) That in the cadre of the Council the proportion of Mahomedan representatives should not be determined on the basis of the numerical strength of the community, and that in any case the Mahomedan representative should never be in an effective minority ; (2) that, as far as possible, appointment by election should be given preference over nomination ; (3) that for the purposes of choosing Mahomedan members, Mahomedan landowners, lawyers, merchants, and representatives of other important interests of a status to be subsequently determined by Your Excellency's Government, Mahomedan members of the Provincial Council, and Mahomedan Fellows of Universities, should be invested with electoral powers to be exercised in accordance with such procedure as may be prescribed by Your Excellency's Government in that behalf.

"An impression has lately been gaining ground that one or more Indian members may be appointed on the Executive Council of the Viceroy. In the event of such appointment being made, we beg that the claims of Mahomedans in that connection may not be overlooked. More than one Mahomedan, we venture to say, will be found in the country fit to serve with distinction in that august Chamber.

"We beg to approach Your Excellency on a subject which most closely affects our national welfare. We are convinced that our aspirations as a community and our future progress are largely dependent on the foundation of a Mahomedan University, which will be the centre of our religious and intellectual life. We, therefore, most respectfully pray that Your Excellency will take steps to help us in an undertaking in which our community is so deeply interested.

"In conclusion, we beg to assure Your Excellency that in assisting the Mahomedan subjects of His Majesty at this stage in the development of Indian affairs in the directions indicated in the present address, Your Excellency will be strengthening the basis of their unswerving loyalty to the Throne, and laying the foundation of their political advancement and national prosperity, and Your Excellency's name will be remembered with gratitude by their posterity for generations to come, and we feel confident that Your Excellency will be gracious enough to give due consideration to our prayers. We have the honour to subscribe ourselves Your Excellency's most obedient humble servants," etc.

HIS EXCELLENCY LORD MINTO'S REPLY.

"YOUR HIGHNESS AND GENTLEMEN,

"Allow me, before I attempt to reply to the many considerations your address embodies, to welcome you heartily to Simla. Your presence here to-day is very full of meaning. To the document with which you have presented me are attached the signatures of nobles, of Ministers of various States, of great landowners, of lawyers, of merchants, and of many other of His Majesty's Mahomedan subjects. I welcome the representative character of your deputation as expressing the views and aspirations

of the enlightened Muslim community of India. I feel that all you have said emanates from a representative body, basing its opinions on a matured consideration of the existing political conditions of India, totally apart from the small personal or political sympathies and antipathies of scattered localities, and I am grateful to you for the opportunity you are affording me of expressing my appreciation of the just aims of the followers of Islam, and their determination to share in the political history of our Empire. As your Viceroy I am proud of the recognition you express of the benefits conferred by British rule on the divers races of many creeds which go to form the population of this huge Continent. You yourselves, the descendants of a conquering and ruling race, have told me to-day of your gratitude for the personal freedom, the liberty of worship, the general peace and the hopeful future which British administration has secured for India. It is interesting to look back on early British efforts to assist the Mahomedan population to qualify themselves for the public service. In 1782 Warren Hastings founded the Calcutta Madrassah, with the intention of enabling its students 'to compete on more equal terms with the Hindus for employment under Government.' In 1811 my ancestor Lord Minto advocated improvements in the Madrassah, and the establishment of Mahomedan Colleges at other places throughout India. In later years the efforts of the Mahomedan Association led to the Government resolution of 1885 dealing with the educational position of the Mahomedan community and their employment in the public service, whilst Mahomedan educational effort has culminated in the College of Aligarh, that great institution which the noble and broad-minded devotion of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan—(applause)—has dedicated to his co-religionists. It was in July, 1877, that Lord Lytton laid the foundation-stone of Aligarh, when Sir Syed Ahmed Khan addressed these memorable words to the Viceroy: 'The personal honour which you have done me assures me of a great fact, and fills me with feelings of a much higher nature than mere personal gratitude. I am assured that you who upon this occasion represent the British rule have sympathy with our labours. To me this assurance is very valuable and a source of great happiness. At my time of life it is a comfort to me to feel that the undertaking which has been for many years and is now the sole object of my life, has roused, on the one hand, the energies of my own countrymen, and, on the other, has won the sympathy of our British fellow-subjects, and the support of our rulers, so that when the few years I may still be spared are over, and when I shall be no longer amongst you, the College will still prosper and succeed in educating my countrymen to have the same affection for their country, the same feelings of loyalty for the British rule, the same appreciation of its blessings, the same sincerity of friendship with our British fellow-subjects as have been the ruling feelings of my life.' (Applause.) Aligarh has won its laurels, its students have gone forth to fight the battle of life, strong in the tenets of their own religion, strong in the precepts of loyalty and patriotism, and now when there is much that is critical in the political future of India the inspiration of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and the teachings of Aligarh shine forth brilliantly in the pride of Mahomedan history, in the loyalty,

common-sense and sound reasoning so eloquently expressed in your address.

"But, gentlemen, you go on to tell me that sincere as your belief is in the justice and fair dealing of your rulers, and unwilling as you are to embarrass them at the present moment, you cannot but be aware that 'recent events' have stirred up feelings amongst the younger generation of Mahomedans which might 'pass beyond the control of temperate counsel and sober guidance.' Now I have no intention of entering into any discussion upon the affairs of Eastern Bengal and Assam, yet I hope that without offence to anyone I may thank the Mahomedan community of the new Province for the moderation and self-restraint they have shown under conditions which were new to them, and as to which there has been inevitably much misunderstanding, and that I may, at the same time, sympathize with all that is sincere in Bengali sentiment. But, above all, what I would ask you to believe is that the course the Viceroy and the Government of India have pursued in connection with the affairs of the new Province—the future of which is now, I hope, assured—(applause)—has been dictated solely by a regard for what has appeared best for its present and future populations as a whole, irrespective of race or creed, and that the Mahomedan community of Eastern Bengal and Assam can rely as firmly as ever on British justice and fair play for the appreciation of its loyalty and the safe-guarding of its interests.

"You have addressed me, gentlemen, at a time when the political atmosphere is full of change. We all feel it would be foolish to attempt to deny its existence. Hopes and ambitions new to India are making themselves felt; we cannot ignore them, we should be wrong to wish to do so. But to what is all this unrest due? Not to the discontent of misgoverned millions—I defy anyone honestly to assert that; not to any uprising of a disaffected people. It is due to that educational growth in which only a very small portion of the population has as yet shared, of which British rule first sowed the seed, and the fruits of which British rule is now doing its best to foster and to direct. There may be many tares in the harvest we are now reaping, the Western grain which we have sown may not be entirely suitable to the requirements of the people of India, but the educational harvest will increase as years go on, and the healthiness of the nourishment it gives will depend on the careful administration and distribution of its products. You need not ask my pardon, gentlemen, for telling me that 'representative institutions of the European type are entirely new to the people of India,' or that their introduction here requires the most earnest thought and care. I should be very far from welcoming all the political machinery of the Western world among the hereditary instincts and traditions of Eastern races. Western breadth of thought, the teachings of Western civilization, the freedom of British individuality, can do much for the people of India. But I recognise with you that they must not carry with them an impracticable insistence on the acceptance of political methods. (Applause.)

"And now, gentlemen, I come to your own position in respect to the political future; the position of the Mahomedan community for whom you

speak. You will, I feel sure, recognise that it is impossible for me to follow you through any detailed consideration of the conditions and the share that community has a right to claim in the administration of public affairs. I can at present only deal with generalities. The points which you have raised are before the Committee which, as you know, I have lately appointed to consider the question of representation, and I will take care that your address is submitted to them. But at the same time I hope I may be able to reply to the general tenor of your remarks without in any way forestalling the Committee's report. The pith of your address, as I understand it, is a claim that in any system of representation—whether it affects a Municipality, a District Board, or a Legislative Council in which it is proposed to introduce or increase an electoral organization—the Mahomedan community should be represented as a community. You point out that in many cases electoral bodies as now constituted cannot be expected to return a Mahomedan candidate, and that if by chance they did so it could only be at the sacrifice of such a candidate's views to those of a majority opposed to his own community whom he would in no way represent; and you justly claim that your position should be estimated not merely on your numerical strength, but in respect to the political importance of your community, and the service it has rendered to the Empire. I am entirely in accord with you. (Applause.) Please do not misunderstand me. I make no attempt to indicate by what means the representation of communities can be obtained, but I am as firmly convinced as I believe you to be that any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure, which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of this continent. (Applause.) The great mass of the people of India have no knowledge of representative institutions. I agree with you, gentlemen, that the initial rungs in the ladder of self-government are to be found in the Municipal and District Boards, and that it is in that direction that we must look for the gradual political education of the people. In the meantime, I can only say to you that the Mahomedan community may rest assured that their political rights and interests as a community will be safeguarded in any administrative reorganization with which I am concerned, and that you and the people of India may rely upon the British Raj to respect, as it has been its pride to do, the religious beliefs and the national traditions of the myriads composing the population of His Majesty's Indian Empire. (Applause.)

"Your Highness and gentlemen, I sincerely thank you for the unique opportunity your deputation has given me of meeting so many distinguished and representative Mahomedans. I deeply appreciate the energy and interest in public affairs which have brought you here from great distances, and I only regret that your visit to Simla is necessarily so short."

FEDERATED MALAY STATES.

The Resident-General's Annual Report for the year 1905 laid before Parliament in October, 1906, is of considerable interest and importance. In addition to the information given generally on the Federated States, there are subordinate reports on the various administrations relating to Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan, and Pahang.

The revenue of the Federated States for the year 1905 amounted to \$23,964,593, and the expenditure \$20,750,395. The receipts from customs increased by \$683,263 as compared with the receipts of 1904. This increase arises chiefly on the export duty on tin and the import duty on opium. The receipts from railways amounted to \$4,043,667—a substantial increase as compared with the receipts of the previous year of \$369,513. The expenditure exceeded that of 1904 by \$1,431,628, and the total expenditure on railway and public works amounted to \$13,442,554. The net amount of the excess of assets over liabilities was \$22,464,215. The trade, therefore, of the States for 1905 is not only satisfactory but prosperous, the aggregate recorded value having reached \$130,633,109. The following figures show the value of the imports and exports (bullion and specie being excluded) of each State for the year: Perak imports, \$19,471,126; exports, \$40,151,484—total \$59,622,610. Selangor imports, \$18,280,639; exports, \$26,270,954—total, \$44,551,593. Negri Sembilan imports, \$4,331,918; exports, \$8,335,112—total, \$12,667,030. Pahang imports, \$1,081,546; exports, \$3,492,254—total, \$4,573,800, making an aggregate total: imports, \$43,165,229, exports, \$78,249,804—total, \$121,415,033. The Director of Agriculture, Mr. Carruthers, expresses himself satisfied with the staple cultivation of the States—coco-nuts, rice, rubber, sugar, tapioca, nipa, are in a satisfactory condition. "The high price of rubber, and the proved suitability of land in these States for its cultivation, have led to numerous applications for land in all four States, but more particularly

in Selangor, where almost all the accessible land between the Klang and the Selangor rivers has been taken up for rubber planting. Large areas of land have been applied for and granted for the purposes of this industry, and most of the large estates have been converted into, or sold to, limited liability companies. Next to the coast districts of Selangor, the Sungei Ujong district of the Negri Sembilan appears to be the locality most in favour with rubber prospectors." The rubber production for the year is estimated to have been £300,000.

The population of the four States is estimated to have been not less than 860,000 at the close of the year 1905.

CEYLON—PRESENT CONDITION.

The Governor, on forwarding his annual report on the condition of the island, dated July 9 last, states in reference to agriculture that "the result of the experiment at Maha and Illapalama shows that in the North Central Province, and districts to the north, there are over 1,000,000 acres on which cotton can be profitably cultivated where moderate irrigation is possible. The quality is a matter of selection of seed plants that we can only hope for if the cultivation is taken up by capitalists, with the same systematic attention to cultivation that has been devoted to tea and other remunerative products." Arrangements have been made for a water survey of this district.

He considers that the increase of ninety-two Government and aided schools and of 19,518 children in attendance is very satisfactory, and the increase of estate schools from fifty-eight to seventy-eight, with an attendance of 7,490 is an evidence of the readiness of the estate proprietors to meet the views of the Government on the subject of coolie education.

With reference to the revenue, there has been a net increase on customs over that of 1904 of Rs. 306,003, and on licenses, excise, and internal revenue of Rs. 1,049,816.

On the sale of Government property an increase of Rs. 1,539,046, and of Government railway Rs. 747,694. On the other side of the account, the total expenditure for 1905 was Rs. 32,087,491 as compared with Rs. 34,279,198 in 1904.

It is decided to lease the Pearl Fishery to "The Ceylon Company of Pearl Fishers, Limited," for a period of twenty years, as from January 1, 1906, for a sum of Rs. 310,000 per annum, it being stipulated that a sum shall be annually expended by the company upon the improvement of the fishery—not less than Rs. 50,000, to be increased at the discretion of the Government to any sum not greater than Rs. 150,000—and that all the expenses of the supervision and protection of the fishery camp by Government shall be borne by the company.

The manufacture of salt is a Government monopoly. Stores have been opened at suitable centres with a view to keeping the retail price as low and uniform as possible. The importation from India is not now necessary, and the salt is sold by the Government at Rs. 3.50 per cwt. at manufacturing centres. The development of planting of rubber during 1905 was remarkable—some 40,000 acres as compared with 11,000 in 1904 and 7,500 in 1903. The value of rubber exported in 1905 was Rs. 5,557,945 as compared with Rs. 221,000 in 1904. Camphor cultivation is extending, and the output of Citronella oil has improved. In fibres the cultivation of cotton is being promoted. Coca has been exported in increasing quantities. Paddy is the staple article of food of the villager, and is grown in all parts of the island, but not in sufficient quantity to meet the total demands of the population. Tobacco is extensively grown in the Northern Province. The leaves find a ready market at Cochin and Travancore, and steps are being taken to improve the quality and curing, so as to produce tobacco suitable for the European market. The collection of Colombo harbour dues amounted to Rs. 1,213,028, the largest yet reached.

An ordinance has been passed providing for the registration of medical and surgical practitioners, on the lines adopted in the United Kingdom.

The population according to the census of 1901 was 3,565,954, and it was estimated to be at the end of 1905 3,950,123.

The climate varies considerably. In the lowlands it is tropical ; in the hills it resembles that of Southern Europe. It is chiefly influenced by the two monsoons : the north-east, which prevails from November to February, and the south-west from April to September.

THE UGANDA PROTECTORATE.

1. The kingdom of Uganda is divided into certain sub-districts and provinces. The *sub-district Mengo* embraces the following counties : (1) Kiadondo, (2) Kiagwe, (3) Bulemezi, (4) Mawokota, (5) Singo, (6) Butambala, (7) Gomba, (8) Busuju, (9) Buvuma, (10) Buruli, (11) Buge-rere. The *sub-district Entebbe* embraces (1) Busiro, (2) Sese. The *sub-district Masaka* embraces (1) Buddu, (2) Koki, (3) Kabula, (4) Mawogola. The *sub-district Kakumiro* embraces (1) Bugangadzi, (2) Bwekula, (3) Buyaga.

2. The *Western Province* consists of the following districts : (1) Unyoro, (2) Toro, (3) Ankole.

3. The *Central Province* consists of the following districts : (1) Busoga, (2) Karamoja, (3) Bukedi, (4) Lobar.

4. The *Rudolf Province* consists of the following districts : (1) Turkwel, (2) Turkana, (3) Dabossa.

5. The *Nile Province* consists of the following districts : (1) Dodinga, (2) Bari, (3) Acholi.

Each province is in charge of a sub-commissioner, who is assisted by collectors and assistant-collectors in the various districts. Mengo is the native capital of the kingdom of Uganda. It consists of settlements on a series of hills : Kampola, the government offices ; Nakasero, the headquarters of the military forces ; Mengo proper, where

His Highness the Kabaka (Daudi Chwa) has his residence; Namirembe, the principal station of the Church Missionary Society; Rubaga, the chief station of the White Fathers' Mission; Nsambya, the principal station of the St. Joseph's Mission.

The greater part, if not the whole, of the protectorate is malarious. At the main Government stations attention is given to general measures for its prevention, such as clearing and drainage. As a rule the fever is of a mild character, but in the great majority of cases it belongs to the form known as the "summer, autumn, or tropical tertian." The medical staff consists of twelve doctors, five hospital dispensers, and two trained nurses, who are stationed throughout the protectorate.

The land is most suitable for the cultivation of coffee. The plantations are being kept by the administration for the purpose of seed and plant distribution.

Rubber is collected from various kinds of vines and trees of rich quality. The supply is supposed to be without limit. The rubber has been classified as follows: (1) *Fun-tumia elastica*, (2) *Clitandra Orientalis*, and (3) *Landolphia Dawei*, the samples of which are reported by the officers in charge of the Imperial Institute, London, as follows: No. 1 contains per cent. 1·7 of moisture, caoutchouc, 84·6, resin, 6·4, albuminoid matter, 6·5, ash, 0·8, and is valued at 5s. 7d. per pound in London. No. 2 contains moisture, 2·8, caoutchouc, 77·9, resin, 8·8, albuminoid matter, 9·4, ash, 1·1, and is valued at 5s. 9d. per pound in London. No. 3 contains moisture, 4·9, caoutchouc, 76·2, resin, 14·1, albuminoid matter, 2·0, ash, 2·8, and is valued at 5s. 9d. per pound in London (*Bulletin* of the Imperial Institute, Vol. IV., No. 3). There is a great natural wealth of fibre-yielding plants and other tropical fibre plants of other countries are suitable, the chief of which are raphia, ramie, bark cloth, and cotton. The soil is rich and loamy, and all cereals grow well.

The laws are regulated by order in council, and are based principally on English, Indian, or colonial precedents.

CONGO STATE: CORRESPONDENCE.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY AND MR. MOREL.

The Hon. Secretary of the Congo Reform Association has received the following letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury :

"LAMBETH PALACE, S.E.,

"November 5, 1906.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"You do not need to be assured of my intense sympathy in every effort which can usefully be made to ameliorate the terrible condition of affairs in the Congo State. I have, as you know, spoken strongly to that effect in the House of Lords, which is perhaps for me the best arena in circumstances such as these. I am sure that we must beware of using words which would seem to attach the blame to the Belgian people, as such. Nothing, so far as I can see, would be further from the truth. If that enlightened people could now take into its own hands the government of the Congo regions, the horrors whereof we have abundant evidence, would, I hope and believe, be at an end for ever.

"The question is a profoundly difficult one, and I fully believe that English Ministers, to whichever party they may belong, have striven to do all in their power to promote the object which we have at heart. They may be sure that the whole people of this country will support them in any ameliorative action which they find it practicable to take. The matter cannot be allowed to rest where it is. The feelings of every humane man have been deeply stirred, and we await with anxiety the result of the endeavours which are being made.—I am, etc., RANDALL CANTUAR.

"E. D. MOREL, ESQ."

NOTE.—Mr. Morel forwarded to the Archbishop a copy of his work entitled "Red Rubber," which is a complete history, up to date, of the Congo tragedy. It is published by the Congo Reform Association, 8, Oldhall Street, Liverpool.—ED.

MR. MOREL'S REPLY.

"November 6, 1906.

"YOUR GRACE,

"I am grateful for your Grace's letter, and the permission conveyed to me to make that letter public.

"I share to the fullest extent your Grace's views in deprecating the use of words attaching blame to the Belgian people, as such, for the atrocious state of affairs prevailing on the Congo, and I am happy to say that the Congo Reform Association has never gone out of its way to bring home to the general public the irresponsibility of the Belgian people, as such, for this state of affairs.

"The Belgian people have been reduced little by little to impotence in regard to the exercise of even a theoretical influence over the management of the Congo territories, and by the recent manifesto of the Sovereign of the Congo State have been placed in the position of undertaking what, in any case, would be an extremely heavy burden, only on such terms as self-respect and self-interest render alike impossible, and on such terms, moreover, as would prove unacceptable to public opinion outside Belgium.

"That the matter cannot be allowed to rest where it is, is the view of this Association, and I rejoice to think that it is also the view of your Grace. The present condition of things has endured for fourteen years—a lengthy period for its victims.

"I have the honour to be, etc., E. D. MOREL,

"*Hon. Secretary Congo Reform Association,*

"8, Oldham Street, Liverpool."

"A STATEMENT OF FACTS AND EXPLANATIONS."—
J. HUTCHINSON, F.R.S., F.R.C.S. "ON LEPROSY AND
FISH-EATING."—GEORGE BROWN, M.D.*

I don't know whether Mr. Jonathan Hutchinson has proved his point that "the fundamental cause of leprosy is

* See our issue for July, 1906, pp. 131-137.

the eating of fish in a state of commencing decomposition," and that "the best prevention and antidote of the disease is *salt liberally used when fish is taken as an article of diet*"; but one thing, at any rate, is clear enough to the ordinary lay mind, and that is that to put *any* restrictions on the free use of salt, in face of the facts and opinions he adduces, is positively wicked. There is no other suitable word for it; and as Mr. John Morley is evidently of the same opinion, (though hampered by the old fallacy that the salt-tax cannot be dispensed with because it fulfils the purpose of a universal income-tax, levied on millions who never have enough to eat), it may be useful to call attention once more to a very interesting subject, which is indeed a question of life or death to the people and the cattle of India. It is important to add the cattle, because experienced officials like Mr. Thorburn seem to have been more impressed by the evil effects of the salt-tax on the cattle than on the people. "Salt-starved" he said the cattle were, and that is what the people are also, whether they know it or not, or whether they complain or not. His proposal that salt should be made freely accessible to cattle by some process that should make it unpalatable to man, so that human beings should continue to be "salt-starved" for the sake of the revenue, is the *ne plus ultra* of financial folly, and it is no wonder Mr. Hutchinson indignantly declined to be a party to any such scheme.

Surely any honest man who looks at the question without a preconceived bias in favour of revenue must see that it is *not* the weight of the tax that is of so much importance, but *any* restriction on the use of such an indispensable article of diet. "Whether the tax is 1 rupee or 2 rupees a maund makes really very little difference to anyone," though the fact that a reduction in price is invariably followed by increased consumption is most significant. "Whatever the rate may be, no mere cooly will ever spend more than 2 to 4 annas a year on salt; but if there were no tax at all he would consume four or five

times as much at least, and the cattle" (for which Mr. Thorburn showed such keen solicitude) would get as much as ever they wanted, whilst their owners would no longer be prosecuted for allowing them to lick the salt rocks on the roadside, or the stone used in the construction of their houses.

Instead of holding this odious indirect income-tax *in terrorem* over the heads of so many poor people, why not make salt literally as cheap as dust, so that it may be used freely in agriculture and various industries now strangled for the want of it? It is *infamous* to impose any tax at all on the 50 or 60 millions of poor people who admittedly never get even one full meal a day. Such people are no more fit subjects for taxation than the inmates of our work-houses.

I repeat again, and, if Mr. Hutchinson is right, Mr. Thorburn must agree with me, that if the salt-tax is only half as injurious as most people (including the House of Commons) admit that it is, it ought to be got rid of *at all costs*. Let the people have a chance of making an income before you impose an income-tax on them.

I have probably said enough, but will just add a few extracts from Dr. Brown's most cautiously worded and moderate review. "In 1869 he (Mr. Hutchinson) visited Norway, and there inspected *the largest fish-market and the largest leper home in the world*,"* and discovered that the peasants preferred decomposed to fresh fish." No one pretends that fresh or even thoroughly salted fish is unwholesome, and no one has a natural taste for decomposed food.

"The author blames the fish factories at Cape Town for producing the disease" (leprosy) "by exporting *fish in a bad state* to the neighbouring regions."

"The disease is known chiefly in places where the buying and eating of fish is most prevalent, and *where salt is not used as a condiment to the extent it ought to be in*

* The italics throughout are mine.

curing fish." "Only the southern part of China where fish abounds and salt is imported suffers from leprosy, whereas in Pekin the fish supply is scanty and salt is plentiful, and in this, the northern part, *leprosy is unknown.*" "It has been wholly, or almost wholly, absent from Cape Colony, Natal, the Sandwich Islands, and some other places, *until factories for the curing (?) of fish were instituted.*" "Its chief habitat is on the sea coast, or near lakes or rivers." "If in the places mentioned where the disease is still prevalent a law were made and enforced that all stale or putrid or *improperly salted fish* was forbidden to be sold or eaten, it might help to lessen the extension of this loathsome disorder."

In India no *new* law is required, only the repeal of an old bad law for which, unfortunately the English Government is solely responsible.

Looking back over my own notes on the subject for the last thirty or forty years, I find that it was discussed in Lord Ripon's time, when Mr. Rivers Thompson distinguished himself by saying that "no one had ever questioned that salt was a *proper* and legitimate subject for taxation," and that, "*because it is a necessary of life, therefore it is the most convenient subject for taxation*"; and it may be admitted that it presents, perhaps, the cheapest mode of collecting a revenue; but as his arguments in favour of raising a revenue from those who have no revenue of their own were demolished by Major Baring and also by the Viceroy, (who evidently recognised the intimate connection between cheap salt and scientific agriculture), his ideas did not prevail, and now we may surely rely on the two Viceroys in the Cabinet to back up Mr. Morley in his determination to get rid of this disgraceful tax once for all. Lord Cromer, at any rate, has not changed his mind in twenty-five years, and stigmatized the salt-tax last year as "*one of the greatest remaining blots on the fiscal system of Egypt.*"

In a very interesting article on the subject in the *Hindu Patriot* for September 19, 1905, the writer points out that

"in a part of the Baroda State lying in Kathiwar, and beyond the British salt-line, people are allowed to manufacture their own salt, and it sells at somewhere about 270 pounds per rupee, whereas in the rest of the State, which lies within the British salt-line, it is sold at 28 pounds a rupee. Look at the difference," he adds, "between the figures, and who will not advocate the *abolition* of the salt monopoly which presses with such great severity on the poorest of the poor." As I have said over and over again since 1875: "My chief objection to the salt-tax is that we do not know how much mischief it does to the people, the cattle, the agriculture, and industries of India. We only know that a liberal supply of salt is even more necessary to life in the East than in Europe," and, as Mr. Hutchinson observed in his remarks at the meeting of the East India Association on June 24, 1904, "*In this tax a blow is aimed at the stamina of the whole population, and the risk is encountered of the production wholesale of certain special and most distressing diseases.*" As to the common official argument that it is the only tax of which no complaint is made by those chiefly affected, he said that "Native medical men had spontaneously come to him and said, 'If you have any sort of influence with the Indian Government, *exercise it for the repeal of the salt-tax.*'"

Mr. J. W. Fox, again, who has spent his whole life in connection with salt, calls special attention to the fact that "during the Middle Ages and down to the beginning of the nineteenth century, while salt in this country was very dear, impure, and difficult for the poorer classes to obtain, similar diseases were rife here which now exist in India; whereas, *with the abolition of all duties,** salt became cheap, pure, and abundant, and those diseases have entirely disappeared." The black plague is no doubt one of the diseases Mr. Fox had in his mind, and it seems to me that Mr. Gumpel in his encyclopædic work on "Common Salt" (chapter xl.),

* Duties wisely abandoned by the free people of England, but rigorously enforced on the helpless people of India.

gives very good reasons for supposing that a lack of salt in the system may be at least one of the predisposing causes of this new and horrible complaint which seems to have taken the place of cholera in its virulence. He also thinks that "a sufficient and systematic supply of sodium chloride to the system is a prophylactic, and imparts to the human body an immunity against cholera and allied disorders." I have long been of the same opinion, and it may, perhaps, be worth while to annex a copy of a letter to the *Madras Standard*, which helped to confirm me in that belief :

"I should like to call the attention of the Government and the military authorities to the following facts. During the famine and cholera in 1877-78 the lines of the 13th Regiment M.N.I. were almost adjacent to the Monegar Choultry relief and cholera camps, and considering the close proximity and the height the epidemic had assumed, there were at first a few cases reported from the lines, but the spread was soon put down when the men were asked to take a large quantity of salt in their food, which they did, and the result was that no fresh cases were reported. To substantiate what I have said, the following *proves quite conclusively that chloride of sodium is a prophylactic in cholera.*

"The attention of the Government of India was drawn to the subject so long ago as 1863, when Captain Wood, Political Agent of Nimar, reported that in the city and district of Hoosungabad, and especially in the vicinity of the gaol, cholera raged with great violence in 1857, and Dr. Beaman of the Madras Medical Service, then civil surgeon of the station, had recommended *a daily allowance of one rupee weight of common salt* to be given to every one of the numerous prisoners *over and above the Government allowance*, and the result of attention to this advice is stated to have been that not a single prisoner was attacked, though several persons died from the epidemic near the gaol, and many casualties took place in the regimental lines.

"Dr. Beaman is the son of a well-known physician in

London who gave his reasons so long ago as 1833 for believing common salt to be a prophylactic against cholera, and consequently Dr. Beaman, junior (whom I had the honour of serving), wishing to verify his father's theories, put them into practice with the happiest results. I have not merely taken for granted what I have read, but during the epidemic of cholera at Madras in 1877-78, I carefully watched the different modes of treatment of this fatal disease, and from further experience gained whilst this disease was epidemic at Singapore, I am under the firm belief that *the saline treatment is the only one under which a patient might hope to recover*, provided he applies for treatment in time. The saline mixture which I find does much good is Dr. Butler's, composed of boracic acid and bicarbonate of soda (10 grains of each to 1 ounce), which is so palatable to the patient, tasting something like soda-water, and has the effect of even allaying vomiting. I have tried *the hypodermic solution of common salt with marked benefit*.

"Now, since vaccination is enforced and vigorously carried out when an epidemic of small-pox is prevalent, I don't see the reason why common salt should not be made to be taken largely as a condiment. If the Government wish to save the soldiers and prevent the spread of the epidemic amongst the troops and other large bodies, they should see that *a sufficient quantity of common salt* is issued out to the soldiers (as is the case amongst the prisoners here, who receive nearly 300 grains (?) of common salt more than the prisoners of other presidences) and warn the general public of the beneficial effect derived from the use of common salt as a preventative of cholera, an advice which will be readily adhered to, as salt is a condiment so cheap and within the reach of the poorest (?).

"GILBERT S. DE SILVA, Colonial Medical Service,
Singapore, April 10, 1882."

Lastly, the abolition of the tax should appeal to the commercial classes in this country, especially those engaged in the salt trade, because an increase in the trade with India

to three times its present volume, (which would almost certainly follow the total abolition of the tax), would obviously give employment to a great many more of the labouring classes in both countries, would to a very large extent increase the revenues of the railways concerned and all other methods of conveyance employed in its distribution, and would also give occupation to a number of clerks, managers, and small and large capitalists who would conduct the fresh trade.

Besides this, salt when free from taxation and the obstructions caused by the collection of the tax on it, bonded warehouses, permits, etc., enters very largely into many manufactures such as leather, glass, all forms of soda—a very wide and important item—soap, salt, provisions, pickles, etc., so that all the workers in these trades are seriously prejudiced as long as they are handicapped by such restrictions and needless expense in the use of salt. Unfortunately, the real benefit to India of free, untaxed salt will never be fully realized until it is actually experienced, but when once it has been recognised in practice it would be a bold man who would venture to reimpose the tax.

J. B. PENNINGTON.

December, 1906.

"BRITISH MALAY." SIR F. SWETTENHAM'S WORK.

Referring to this work,* permit us to say it must be allowed that, although many British officers have contributed to this good result, Sir F. Swettenham has been mainly instrumental in bringing it about. The influence he possessed over the chiefs and people was due to his long residence amongst them and his familiarity with their language and customs, so that he never rubbed them up the wrong way, but, gaining their confidence, he was able to make them understand that they were in every way bettered by being under a British administration, and they believed in him.

* See our "Reviews and Notices."

In this book he has referred to old writers on the Malayan race, and no doubt had before him Marsden's "Sumatra," written in 1782; Craufurd's "History of the Indian Archipelago," published in 1820; Moor's "Indian Archipelago," 1837; Newbold's account of the Straits of Malacca, 1839; Jansen's translation of Godinho de Eredia's old work of 1613; Abdullah's History; Marryat's "Borneo and Indian Archipelago"; the "Life of Sir S. Raffles," by Demetrius Boulger, and the edition by his widow; and other old writers who gave the world some knowledge of the people; George Windsor Earl, for instance, Logan's "Eastern Archipelago," and Dela Loubere, who wrote on Siam and the adjoining territories. Coming to recent works, he has omitted, we observe, any reference to a volume by Major McNair, entitled "Perak and the Malays," published as far back as 1878,* which gives an account of the Perak War and contains reference to the Malays in their general characteristics and habits, their ceremonies, proverbs, and so forth. Major McNair was, moreover, the first of the Straits' recent officials to deal with this subject, and no doubt the literary world at home will remember this work, though Sir F. Swettenham has somehow failed to notice it. As to the early history of the settlements of Singapore, Penang, and Malacca, Major McNair also dealt with that subject in his "Prisoners their own Warders," a book which was published in 1899 by Constable and Co., London. This has also escaped the notice of the writer, but it is a work which ought to be studied by all those who have to deal with convict labour in England at the present time, as well as by those who are interested in the past Annals of our Settlements in the Malacca Straits.

* Tinsley Bros., London:

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

BARTHOLOMEW AND CO. ; EDINBURGH, 1906.

I. *Climatological Atlas of India*, by SIR JOHN ELIOT, K.C.I.E., F.R.S. An important scientific work has just been issued by the Government of India. It consists of a "Climatological Atlas" designed to show the more prominent meteorological features of the country, as deduced from observations spread over the whole area during a quarter of a century. The author is Sir John Eliot, late Meteorological Reporter to the Government of India and Director-General of Indian Observations, and it certainly supplies a want which has been much felt by those interested in tracing the economic variations and possibilities of India as affected by climate.

So far as scientific observations are concerned these have generally been instituted in India in times past at the suggestion of the authorities. But previously to 1865 they were, so to speak, unsystematized, and even then, for a period of ten years the organization was provincial rather than centralized. In 1894 Mr. H. F. Blanford was appointed head of the Department, and his successor is the author of the present book. Since then a vast amount of work has been done. Additional observations have been established; a system of storm-signals has been devised, and ports have been regularly warned, as well as officials to whom flood and weather warnings were of special moment; daily weather reports have been compiled and issued broadcast; a uniform system of the registration of rainfall has been introduced; the collection of meteorological information relating to the Indian seas has been largely extended, and a Solar Physics Observatory has been established. The resulting literature is both voluminous and valuable.

This atlas comprises 120 elaborately and tastefully coloured lithographic plates, showing the area of India,

and in some instances that of adjacent countries as well, under almost every conceivable aspect of physical or meteorological influence. The general map exhibits the varying altitudes of the country by ingeniously devised gradations of colour, far more accurately, we may observe, than some previous attempts in this direction, and this is succeeded by a long series of maps exhibiting pressure and wind phenomena, temperature, humidity, cloud, rainfall, and storm-tracks.

Sir John Eliot promises us a Handbook of the Meteorology of India, which is in a forward state of preparation and which will give a full statement of all the more important features of climate and weather. It is designed to accompany the more voluminous Atlas, each part supplementing the other, and to supply a record of the results of meteorological investigation in India during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The physical conditions of India, shut in as it is on its land frontiers by lofty mountains, and bounded by the ocean on the south, facilitate observation in a great measure, and the immense importance of warnings, which in an Empire almost wholly devoted to agriculture will minimize the ravages of famine, floods, and storms, is too obvious to need laying stress upon. The present work is a commendable example of the thorough and practical spirit in which the scientific departments of India discharge their stewardship.

CATHOLIC MISSION; SHANGHAI, 1906.

2. *Variétés Sinologiques*, No. 25. *La Politesse Chinoise*, by REV. S. KIONG, S.J., with Appendices by REV. F. COURTOIS, S.J. This work is not only of quaint interest to outsiders, but is of great value to missionaries and others whose duty renders formal visits to and from the mandarins and gentry more or less imperative. In fact, the compilation was originally intended for the practical use of the Catholic missionaries; but it has been retouched, extended, and enriched with a number of valuable illustrations, in

such wise that the whole non-Chinese world may accept it as a text-book. The following specimen of the celestial ideas touching a gentleman's bearing will at once interest the European reader: "It is not considered good form to look loosely about you; rather you should, as a rule, keep your eyes gently fixed upon what you chance to look at; and if that object happens to be a superior officer, then modestly lower the glance too. But there is no reason whatever why you should not look persons, even superiors, straight in the face when you are listening to or addressing them. At the same time, when a superior asks you anything, you should exhibit the closest attention; and when you reply to his questions, you should slightly bend forward both the body and the head, even if he invites you meanwhile to keep your seat." Then follow chapters on bowing and saluting, accepting seats, full sitting and half-sitting, wearing the "correct thing" in clothes, walking into a reception-room, paying visits in a sedan or on horseback "flunkys," and visiting-cards, returning visits, sending presents, inviting to feasts, funeral compliments, and so on. Nothing could be more practically valuable or more socially interesting; the only thing seriously lacking is what to do when you visit the Empress-Dowager or the Emperor—a luxury of course rarely, if ever, granted to missionaries at all. The special appendices on Chinese mats, Chinese furs, and Chinese silks ought to be of use, not only to ladies, but also to merchants catering for the Chinese and home markets. There is an excellent index, and the thirty-six woodcuts are beyond all praise.

E. H. PARKER.

ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO., LTD.; 16, JAMES STREET,
LONDON, S.W.

3. *Lectures on Tropical Diseases*; being the Lane Lectures for 1905, delivered at San Francisco, August, 1905, by SIR PATRICK MANSON, M.D., F.R.S., etc. These ten lectures on tropical diseases give the names of places

and regions where they are most prevalent; a clear exposition of the means by which they spread and enter the human subject; the care necessary to be taken to prevent their entrance into his body, and the best method if a cure is possible to effect it. The chief factor in producing and fostering these diseases is the high atmospheric temperature of their nativity, and on this account the name of "Tropical" has been applied exclusively to them.

These maleficent germs, nurtured in a warm climate, if they can secure a location in any living human body and find its warmth sufficient for a comfortable existence, in many instances flourish in it till the human fabric is brought to a close by these greedy parasites eating up the nutrition necessary for their host's existence. These diseases are, as a rule, restricted to the tropics, and if introduced do not spread in cold climates, the human blood in a healthy person being the same in all climates. One disease mentioned by the author, *Tinea imbricata*, has a wide distribution, showing itself in the West Indies and other tropical countries with a moist atmosphere and a temperature between 80° F. and 90° F., but if the temperature mounts above 90° F. or falls below 70° F., or the air becomes very dry, the disease ceases to spread and may lose its infective quality and even die out. "Coolie itch" goes through a similar process, and is common in the negro settlements. An interesting account is given of the Guinea worm in lecture 2, which may now and then be seen in London. It cripples the patient, and makes him quite unfit for duty for months. A trematode, *Paragonimus Westermanni*, found in Formosa and Japan enters the lungs and produces tumours there of a seeming tubercular character, but the microscope reveals the true disease.

Bilharzia (*Schistosomum hæmalobium*) is well known in Egypt, and its congener, *Schistosomum Catloï*, is a native of Asia and is known in China and Japan; and though small are great enemies of the human race. The microscope easily detects their presence.

The large family of *Filaria* place their embryos inside the human dwelling—the *F. nocturna* being best known—and the *F. immitis* enters the dog in South China and produces hundreds of vermin; and the *F. Bancrofti* massed together pour their young into the thoracic duct, and that dreadful and hideous disease endemic elephantiasis is produced. Ten photographs are given of this ghastly disease. It is singular that it is only within the last few years that the true knowledge and history of these parasitic diseases have been thoroughly examined and elucidated, and they now hold a position in the medical world equal in importance to the old and well-known personal enemies of the human race. The explanation must be that it was entirely owing to the Cryptocysts (if I may coin a word applicable to these germs) getting a location in the human body, and were not noticed earlier by the unaided human eye, and that it is entirely due to the aid the microscope has given that they were discovered.

It is not many years since a very well-written book was published by Ward, Lock, and Co., entitled "Haydn's Dictionary of Popular Medicine and Hygiene," edited by Edwin Lankester, M.D., F.R.S., etc., assisted by distinguished members of the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons with Plates (no date given). In it are four well-written articles on "Malaria," "Malarious Diseases," "Intermittent and Remittent Fevers." The smallest of these is on "Malarious Disease," and the author writes, "Malarious diseases are those which are caused, or supposed to be caused by poison either in the air or water of certain marshy or malarious districts. The East coast of England, the marshes round Rome and Naples and elsewhere on the shores of the Mediterranean are sources of this poison: in India and tropical countries a more severe disease is the consequence of exposure to these various influences. In cold climates malarious diseases are not met with; in temperate climates agues or intermittent fevers are the result; in tropical climates a more severe form of inter-

mittent fever and also remittent fevers are produced." It is not many years since this book was last printed (about 1872 or 1873) and since this date what an advance in the knowledge of this disease!—and by contrast a fourth lecture is given on malaria. The parasite which produces this disease has two lives, one in man, another in the mosquito—which last belongs to the Anopheline group—the female only being the criminal, and there is no other way of contracting the disease. The fine island of Mauritius by the entry of this insect has been ruined as a fine healthy resort.

A most difficult subject which will take some time to unravel are the diseases mentioned in the fifth lecture on trypanosomiasis and sleeping sickness. The etiology of these two diseases is for the most part hidden, and while some inquirers have been able to say with regard to them "Eureka," later researches have overturned the evidence as to the true cause of their presence. "We cannot," says the author, "be too cautious about adopting decided views on so fundamental a matter as the etiology of a disease—everything depends on this—diagnosis, prevention, treatment."

Six diseases have been withdrawn from the malarian group, the last of which is called febrile spleno-megaly or more appropriately kala azar (black fever) as it is called in Assam where it is best known. It spreads very quickly in that quarter with immense mortality—entire families being wiped out. The author gives four characteristics of its presence from data given through the microscope and states that very few recover from it.

A very excellent lecture is given on the diagnosis of malaria, and should be read and studied by every medical man who has the surveillance of such cases. In every patient under his care he must go over all the organs of the body seriatim to discover the real cause of the illness. The names of eight principal tropical diseases are given, all distinct from malaria, yet liable to be mistaken for it. Malaria, he says, has three absolute uniform tests—perio-

dicity, microscopical blood test, and quinine; and if these give negative results the disease is not true malaria. Some interesting examples of these diseases are given with appropriate treatment.

In the eighth lecture the elucidation of seven tropical diseases is given, commencing with Mediterranean fever and ending with leprosy. The *Micrococcus militensis* is the agent of this disease, and its symptoms are very erratic and may show itself under four types—an undulant, a continued, an intermittent, and a mixed type. An enlarged spleen and anæmia, profuse night-sweats and abscess of the liver, with the sequel of dysentery, if not diagnosed early lead to disastrous results.

In splenomegaly, the spleen increases in size and the Leishman body being detected by the microscope shows the disease. Other kindred diseases are mentioned with symptoms of their presence and diagnostic elucidation. The treatment of dysentery is touched upon, and excellent advice is given as to its cure, especially with regard to the value of ipecacuanha as an excellent remedy.

Sprue is a disease little known in this country, though in Manila it is too well known. Chronic diarrhœa is its chief characteristic symptom. If left alone it is a dangerous malady, and we are told the cure is quite simple: 1st. Absolute rest in bed in a warm room and warm clothing. 2nd. A diet of milk and nothing but milk, beginning with three pints in the twenty-four hours; a dose every two hours and the mouth washed with an antiseptic. Strawberries have a curative action on the disease, and may be given at any time.

Yellow fever, the author states, has two forms—the virulent and the non-virulent; the disease acting on individuals like small-pox on the vaccinated and unvaccinated population. The remedy devised is the adoption of quarantine which would kill the stegomia mosquito and thus save the population; otherwise thousands of lives may be lost. There are some problems with regard to these

tropical maladies which have yet to be unfolded, and it is to be hoped that all these noxious hidden germs may be destroyed. Some well-timed advice with regard to their extirpation, and if the United States and this country join in a perpetual warfare for their total destruction they will have erected a priceless monument for each country that time can never destroy.

Sir Patrick Manson has unfolded in the lectures contained in this valuable work the hidden problems which have eluded the research and perplexed the views of many wise medical men before him, and has set at rest, with others working in the same line, a new and happy means of detecting most of these hidden disorders, and has presented a fair prospect of securing the means of their destruction.—G. B.

W. HEINEMANN ; LONDON, 1906.

4. *The Golden Threshold*, by SAROJINI NAIDU. It is right, when occasion offers, to present to our readers, as well as other imperial subjects, notices of writings calculated to bring to the notice of English people books written by natives of India that are praiseworthy examples of the literary talent that must be latent among the 300 millions of our fellow subjects. We should remember that the ancient civilization of that vast country dates from a time long anterior to that in which our own had advanced to no higher a point than to lead our ancestors to the wearing of skins for clothing, and in the art of decoration no further than the colouring of their skins with woad. That ancient civilization of the East has for centuries past been comparatively non-progressive, and has fallen far behind in the race with that of the West. But times are changing. The first signs of a revival of the former are beginning to appear, and should be encouraged in their growth by all who have the interest of India at heart. Among such signs are writings in English by Indians, and of these an excellent example lies before us in the pages of a little book by a native lady entitled "*The Golden Threshold*."

She is the wife of a native doctor and man of science resident at Hyderabad in the Deccan. It contains about thirty short poems on a variety of subjects, most of them merely topical, but expressed in such poetic and feeling terms as give promise of much wider expansion as the author grows older and her powers of observation become mature, although at present there is nothing very deep or abstruse or far-reaching in them; there is also a breath of light music in some of them that must excite the admiration, if not the envy, of many an English poetaster of modern days. Witness the little piece called "Wandering Singers," from which we quote :

"When the voice of the wind calls our wandering feet,
Through echoing forest and echoing street,
With lutes in our hands ever singing we roam,
All men are our kindred, the world is our home.

"Our lays are of cities whose lustre is shed,
The laughter and beauty of women long dead;
The sword of old battles, the crown of old kings,
And happy and simple and sorrowful things."

Sarojini Naidu, it appears from Mr. A. Symons' introduction to the book, has had an English university education, and has taken every advantage of it to improve her taste by reading and in other ways, but not in any way to blunt her natural feelings of love and sympathy towards everyday objects around her. We quote her address to one of her children, a little girl of three, which we can well imagine her crooning over a little cradle wreathed with champaka and sweet-smelling Indian flowers :

"Lotus-maiden, you who claim,
All the sweetness of your name,
Lokshmi, fortune's queen, defend you,
Lotus-born like you, and send you
Balmy waves of love to bless you,
Gentle joy-winds to caress you.
Lotus-maiden, may you be
Fragrant of all ecstasy."

We close these few remarks on a book we hope many of our readers will be induced to buy and read, with a

few lines that show how Sarojini's thoughts can rise beyond mere mundane affairs to matters of greater and eternal moment, taken from the last poem, "To a Buddha seated on a Lotus":

"With futile hands we seek to gain
Our inaccessible desire,
Diviner summits to attain,
With faith that sinks and feet that tire;
But nought shall conquer or control
The heavenward hunger of our soul.

"The end, elusive and afar,
Still lures us with its beckoning flight,
And all our mortal moments are
A session of the Infinite.
How shall we reach the great unknown
Nirvana, of thy lotus throne?"

A. ROGERS.

JOHN LANE; THE BODLEY HEAD, LONDON, W.

5. *British Malaya*, by SIR FRANK SWETTENHAM, K.C.M.G. It is indeed a pleasure to read the history of the development of a country when the tale is told as Sir Frank Swettenham now tells us the story of the growth of British control in the Malay Peninsula.

In Malaya our influence began with the occupation of Pinang in 1786. The British next ousted the Dutch in the old Portuguese port of Malacca, and in 1819 the foresight of Sir Stamford Raffles, who desired to see this sphere of influence increase, planted the British flag at Singapore. But this influence did not for many years penetrate far beyond the settlements themselves. The rule of the niggardly and cautious East India Company was, as the writer points out, a doubtful blessing, and the Malay rulers had little to congratulate themselves on through its proximity. The Raja of Kēdah, whose predecessor had owned Pinang, found himself abandoned when a hostile Siamese force ravaged his country, and the Sultan of Johore, whose father had ceded Singapore, saw his kingdom snatched from him by the Tēmēnggong, and the latter

acknowledged by the British with the higher title of Maharaja, new in Malaya. Nor did the servants of "John Company" fare better. Francis Light, who founded Pinang, died unrewarded, and Raffles himself, to whom the British in the East owe so much, returned to England to die with his work unrecognised. After the three settlements became a Crown colony in 1857 things improved for themselves, but apathy in regard to Malayan affairs had set in, and it was not until 1873 that Britain interfered in their internal conditions. After much internecine fighting, "the Pangkor Treaty" in 1874 allowed a British officer to reside in Perak, and this was followed by the appointment of Residents in Selangor and Sungei Ujong. Their influence was very gradual, however. The Malays were at first hostile, except perhaps Sultan Abdul Samat of Selangor, who "was supposed to have killed ninety-nine men with his own hand," yet whose "manners were as mild as those of a missionary," and in 1875 the Resident of Perak was murdered; and then by a sudden action on the part of the Governor, Sir William Jervoise, the Residency system became firmly established in the chaos of Malay rule. This system, founded by chance, has grown and flourished. The first officials were strong men who liked the Malays and knew (like the author who has held every British-Malayan post of distinction) their lore. They were always ready to assist the Malay ruler with advice, to help him to execute justice and restore order. One of the most useful laws they formulated was that all water power should be controlled by the State, a necessary rule in a mining country worked, as so much of Malaya has been, by Chinese immigrants. In 1884 debt slavery was abolished in Perak. Railways have been built and roads made, and Pahang became a protected State in 1888. In 1896 the Malay States were federated with the cordial approbation of their chiefs, and the capital fixed at Kuala Lumpur. At the second conference of chiefs in 1903 the Sultan of Perak was able to express how much, after their first suspicions

had been allayed, the Malays appreciated the British administration, and we are shown that the progress of the States under it contrasts very favourably with the condition of those which Siam has been allowed to retain under its sway.

We must not forget to mention the charming chapter on the Malays which the author has placed in the centre of the book. It is illustrated by many pictures of works of art made formerly by the people of the country, and is not the least attractive part of an excellent book.—A. F. S.

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO. ; LONDON.

6. *Personal and Literary Letters of Robert, First Earl of Lytton*, edited by LADY BETTY BALFOUR. Two vols. This is one of the most interesting books of the year, and the editor is to be congratulated on the happy way she has selected and put together the correspondence of her father. The first Earl of Lytton was born in 1831, and he was the only son of the novelist, Sir Edward Lytton-Bulwer, who was then at the zenith of his fame. His early youth was clouded by the disagreement of his parents and his own delicate health, but he was as a studious boy always fond of letters, and, no doubt, from emulation of his father's fame, soon essayed his own power as a writer. Launched in the diplomatic world under his uncle (afterwards Lord Dalling), his duties took him in 1850 to America, and in 1852 to Florence. It was here that, through his lifelong friend John Forster, he was introduced to the two poets Robert Browning and his wife, with whom he formed a close friendship, and many interesting letters reveal their criticism of his early verses, his reviews of their poems, and many critiques (not, as on Tennyson, always favourable), of their fellow-poets and contemporaries, who were also men of letters. Diplomacy (for which he had at first little sympathy) carried young Lytton—now under the *nom de plume* of "Owen Meredith," a poet of some repute—to Paris, the

Hague, Vienna, and Copenhagen, and we read from his correspondence with his father, until his father's death in 1873, of his constant study and love of literature. In 1864 he had married Miss Edith Villiers, of whom a beautiful portrait by G. F. Watts is given, and who was so well known later in India, and after filling Diplomatic posts at Athens, Madrid, Vienna, Paris, and Lisbon, he was appointed by Disraeli Viceroy of India in 1876. The first half of the second volume is concerned—but mainly from its personal side—with his Viceroyalty, a subject which has already been ably dealt with by Lady Betty Balfour in "The History of Lord Lytton's Indian Administration." Many of the letters of this time are, it is interesting to find, written to his friend Mr. Morley, and are full of notes on the difficulties of the situation on the Afghan frontier which culminated in the Afghan War. In 1876 he wrote: "*Me judice*, the three great faults of our past frontier policy have been (1) putting all our eggs into one basket; (2) proclaiming that if these eggs are broken we cannot make an omelette; and (3) taking no precaution whatever to keep this precious basket under our own arm," and the truth of this will now be recognised. He with Lady Lytton had the good fortune to preside at the great Delhi Durbar, and we find many letters to show what personal affection they inspired in spite of the fierce waves of political feeling which led to the Viceroy's resignation in 1880. The complete confidence which Queen Victoria had in him is expressed in her friendly letters, and on his resignation she at once, as a mark of favour, bestowed upon him the Earldom of Lytton.

On his return to England Lord Lytton recommenced his favourite study of literature, and his later poems were the result. He was the centre of a devoted circle (though politics had unfortunately separated some older friends) both at home and in France, until he died in 1891 at Paris, while representing England as Ambassador. The letters that are given in this work have been selected with great discrimi-

nation, and the opinions of a cultivated poet like Lord Lytton and those of his literary and political correspondents cannot fail to be welcomed with real pleasure by all who read these two handsomely illustrated volumes.—A. F. S.

MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD. ; LONDON, 1906.

7. *The Todas*, by W. H. R. RIVERS, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. In this work the author need not fear that he has supplied enough new information to justify his work, although the title which is the object of his study has, from its proximity to Ootacamund, attracted the attention of many previous observers. His researches during a visit to the Nilgiris are here given to us in a volume of over 700 pages, which is full of carefully-sifted anthropological lore. The writer is of the opinion, though he takes care not to be dogmatic, that the customs of the Todas have most affinity with the former customs in Malabar and those of the present natives of Coorg. He thinks that the Todas must have come from Malabar originally, but probably at a remote date (their dead are still supposed to "go West"), and that their language has some affinity to Malayalam. He describes the subjects of his study as dolichocephalic people, darker than most of the Dravidians of South India, and given entirely to the tending of cattle. They have been isolated (with the two other tribes of Kotas and Badagas, who have for long given them produce, whether as "tribute" or not) in the plateau of the Nilgiris. Their religion is fading away without any new one taking its place, and their gods are fast being forgotten, but there is still a complete ritual connected with the tending of the buffaloes, the chief occupation of the people, and the ordering of dairies, into which many religious ideas and rites are interwoven, and much of this work is concerned with the laws and customs of the village and private dairies, the more sacred *Wursuli pati* (which is attended with special care by dairymen drawn from special castes) and the *Ti*

dairy, tended by priests called *palol*, which is forbidden to the ordinary Toda except on certain dates or in special circumstances. The author has much to say on the Toda clans (the two great divisions, the Tartharol and the Teivaliol cannot marry, though certain unions are recognised), the complicated forbidden degrees, and their clan genealogies. Women have a low place in the Toda community, and polyandry still prevails, if in less flourishing condition than formerly. He has collected with infinite pains not only the funeral ceremonies which were already partially known, but the marriage and pregnancy customs also, and the *pursutpimi*, or recognition of fatherhood, about which we should like to know more. Mr. Rivers has given an account of the difficulties he underwent in extracting much of the folk-lore in this book from the superstitious Todas, and the care he has taken in comparing it. Had similar care and tests been made use of by former writers, it would have given to their accounts a more certain value.

8. *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, by WALTER WILLIAM SKEAT, M.A., and CHARLES OTTO BLAGDEN, M.A. These two monumental volumes, compiled by two authors who were civilians in the Straits Settlements, contain all that is yet known about the anthropology of the Jungle peoples of the Malay peninsula, collected with the most careful study from the most recent ethnological investigations. Though including all the peoples who have not embraced Islam as "Pagan Races," in this book three separate peoples who have not been absorbed by the intruding Malays are in reality dealt with. These three are grouped as the Negritos or Semang, the Sakai, a dark, wavy-haired race, supposed to have affinities with the Dravidians, and the Jakuns or uncivilized Malays whose early history and modern aloofness is still very mysterious. It will thus be seen that the work that the authors have accomplished has been an exceedingly difficult one. All the races have to some extent intermingled, and they have been greatly confused by former writers, who

were apt to treat them as one jungle people. It has fallen to the present writers to sift carefully the earlier accounts, and also to collect, compare and distinguish the craniology, culture, customs and folk-lore of each of these races, and this has been done in the most exhaustively elaborate manner. Much of the second volume is filled by a valuable vocabulary. It contains also an important and suggestive essay on the difficult subject of the former influence of the Mon-Annam race and language, and of the old Khmer Empire on the inhabitants, past and present, of Further India. The work is sumptuously illustrated to show the arts of life of the primitive tribes it deals with, and we regret that it is impossible to do more than indicate its importance to anthropologists in a short review.—A. F. S.

9. *The Garter Mission to Japan*, by LORD REDESDALE. Lord Redesdale has given us in the first place a graphic description of an important ceremony—that of bestowing the highest and most ancient Order of Knighthood of Great Britain upon H.I.M., the Emperor of Japan, as well as of the exchange of decorations that followed this significant event. The whole programme of the Mission was pregnant with the true spirit in which all Japanese ceremonials are conducted, namely, with dignified restraint.

Memories bright and sad alternately flit across the mind of the author, as he relates the hourly events that were crowded into the span of his brief sojourn in a country re-visited—a country, beloved for its beauty, as well as for the charm of the people who inhabit it. He brings us in touch with the quiet unpretentiousness of many great men of Japan—the makers of the Empire. Those who are still living, let us earnestly hope, to reap the reward of their labours and loyalty, as well as those whose work is ended, who have sown for others to reap. We are glad to find in this narrative the name of Hirosé the Brave. Such men are soon forgotten, out of the land of their birth, and their noble deeds are passed over before the newspaper which was eager at first to relate them, is many days out

of date. Hirosé is the embodiment of *Bushido*; his life and death exemplify the *Yamato Damashi-i*, and help us to realize more than ever the spirit that guided Japan's brave sons to fight for Freedom, Justice and Humanity.

This pleasant book abounds in descriptions of many sights and scenes that inevitably appeal to visitors—the Tea Ceremony, the Cherry Flower, and the older forms of theatrical representation of a high historical order which are still in vogue, performed and maintained because they are usually sought for. Even the *Geisha* has a few words dedicated to her memory. A graceful flower of Asiatic growth is this pleasing child of caprice, whose moods vary like the face of the changing sea, gay and grave, sad and sweet, demure and artless in her desire to please, and to be appreciated. All these items are to be found interwoven like the silken strands of rich brocade over the fundamental fabric comprising this minute account of the Garter Mission.

Lord Redesdale tells us that he has utilized his journal letters for this volume, to which is added a short appendix concerning the rules of polo. His writing will appeal to all who admire Japan, while the artistic style adopted for recounting his experiences has made word-painted pictures atone for the absence of any other form of illustration.—S.

JOHN MURRAY; ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON.

10. *The Rose Garden of Sa'di*, selected and rendered with Introduction by L. CRANMER BYNG. There are renderings and renderings. The present rendering has been specially selected in order to illustrate the Wisdom of the East out of Sa'di's well-known work, the *Gulistán*, or *Rose Garden*, but appears to us to fall very far short of its purpose. The selections are of the briefest and by no means the best that could have been made, and the renderings of such passages as have been selected are not only inaccurate, but the author indulges in flights of poetical fancy which, so far from adding to the aptness and beauty of the original, really detract from it.

Let us take the very first quotation and compare it with Platts' literal translation.

BYNG.

"The world, O brother, may with none abide,
Look to thy God, let Him suffice alone!
This world that cherished thee will cast aside;
A little while and all thy wealth is flown.
What matter, when depart thou must,
If dust should find thee in the dust,
Or call thee from thy throne!"

PLATT'S TRANSLATION.

"The world, O brother, abideth with none:
Fix thy heart on the world's Creator, and that will suffice.
Rely not nor repose on worldly possessions:
For it (the world) has pampered and slain many such as thou.
When a pure soul is about to depart,
What difference does it make, dying on a throne or dying on the
bare ground?"

We pass to the second quotation:

"Many are they, once famed, beneath the ground,
That left no record of their little worth,
And the old corse surrendered, earth to earth,
Was so consumed that not a bone is found.
The glories of King Nushirvan remain,
And time remembers his munificence,
Be generous, O friend! on passing hence,
They shall proclaim thee with the moons that wane."

PLATT'S TRANSLATION.

"Full many a chief of glorious fame beneath the ground has buried been,
No single token of whose fame on earth's (wide) surface can be seen,
And that old corse which to the dust, in days of yore they did commit,
The earth has so consumed the trust (lit. it) that not a bone remains
of it.
The blessed name of Nūshirvān, by reason of his justice, still
In the world endures, though years have gone since Nūshirvān his place
did fill.
Do good, O man! (lit. O so and so) and count thy days a precious
boon ere yet the hour
Arrive when all the cry will raise, that such an one is now no more."

The following is the fourth quotation, which is also compared with Platt's translation:

"It is no friend who in thine hour of pride
 Brags of his love, and calls himself thy kin.
 It is a friend who haies his fellow in,
 And bangs the door upon the wolf outside."

PLATT'S TRANSLATION.

"Do not count him a friend who in prosperity sounds
 The praises of his friendship and brotherly affection.
 He is a friend who holds the hand of a friend
 In distress and in affliction."

To speak of waning moons, as in the first quotation, or banging the door on the wolf, as in the last, in no way appears to improve on the original, or even to give the sense of Sa'di himself. Such poetical license, if this can be so called, goes far beyond what any translator has a right to take.

A yet more notable instance of this kind of poetical license is to be found in the fifth quotation, which is as follows :

"Those that have sought the hermit's cell when quiet seasons rule,
 Have drawn the venom of the dog, the malice of the fool ;
 They tore their controversies up, the pen away they flung,
 And so escaped the critic's lash, and foiled the slanderer's tongue."

PLATT'S VERSION.

"Those who seat themselves in the nook of safety,
 Muzzle the teeth of dogs and the mouths of men :
 Tear up the paper and break the pen,
 And escape the hands and tongues of captious men."

In the following quotation, taken from the eleventh story under Chapter II., the author has taken the liberty of adopting the idea of a female lover where it was never intended.

"My love is nearer to me than my own self :
 Yet I am still estranged from her heart.
 What can I do ? To whom shall it be said,
 She bides with him, and he lies far apart."

PLATT'S VERSION.

"The Loving One is nearer to me than my own self ;
 And the puzzle is this—that I from Him am far.
 What shall I do ? To whom can I tell that He
 Is in my arms, and yet I am separated from Him ?"

The author has not been able to perceive that the word *dûst*, or friend, is here to be taken in a mystic sense as "God," as is evident from the remainder of the story.

A similar want of perception of the true purport of the original is apparent in the translation of the lines at p. 33, out of the fourth story of Chapter II., when the author uses the term "gentle tyrant" as if the lines were addressed to a beloved earthly mistress, whereas they are really meant for the Supreme Being.

It is strange what a temptation the discovery of a useful rhyme affords to a poetaster to break off into the jingle of verse, to the neglect of accurate translation. An instance of this is palpable in the second line of the quatrain at p. 34, the true translation of which is "Hold thyself free from blameable deeds," but has been given as "Restrain thy body from licentiousness," where the last word is made use of to rhyme with "patchwork dress."

Again, as to the assuming of poetic license, the quotation of the verses of the forty-second Story of Chapter II. is a fair specimen, for the original does not say a word of cock-crow, the gloom (?) of nightingales, or the knell that would flauntingly "defy the golden armoured sun." The last lines quoted from Chapter II. abound in mistranslations: *Riyâ* is hypocrisy, not "the mouth of the righteous," *Giyah* is "grass," and not new-mown hay, *takvâ* is "piety," and not "good resolve." The words "*no vile pretender to royal friendship soils the pride of kings*" should be "*what's this worthless grass that it should also sit in the rank of roses.*" On the whole we prefer the words of the poet to those of the poetaster.

Does it add weight to the impressiveness of the words "*that I have not the power to trouble men*" to say "that I am harmless both to clown and king"? Does it improve the sense of "the burden of men's own trouble is preferable to the burden of obligation to mankind" to render it, "since trouble's lighter than indebtedness," or is this rendering meant merely to find a rhyme for *tattered dress*?

We have been careful to give chapter and verse for our criticisms in order to bring out clearly the inadvisability of any one not acquainted with an Oriental work in a language he does not himself understand, and relating to manners and customs of which he knows nothing, venturing to dress up in his own imagery as Wisdom of the East a few extracts from a book that has several times been well and adequately translated for the English public. It would only be a waste of time to go through in a similar manner the remainder of a book that gives such an imperfect idea of Sa'di's *Gulistân*.—A. ROGERS.

JAMES NISBET AND CO., LTD., LONDON.

II. *A Tropical Dependency*; an outline of the ancient history of the Western Soudan, with an account of the modern settlement of Northern Nigeria. By FLORA L. SHAW (Lady Lugard). This book, which extends to 500 pages, is valuable on account of the skill of its author more than the certainty of the history it contains. Lady Lugard gives an exhaustive account of the different influences to which the West Africa Soudan has been subjected, direct or indirect—viz., Ancient Egyptian, Roman, Moorish, and lastly European, and her essay will be read with great attention and interest without the reader being able to form the conclusion that it is a certain contribution (it gives hardly any references in a direct citation) to positive history. The writer has evidently read widely all the historical sources and uses them with dexterity, but is not able to do more of real importance than to quote the early Arab travellers and draw deductions from their garrulity. After the thorny period of early times is passed, however, the book becomes more interesting, with the formation of the Haussa States and the intercourse with Europe, in which the slave trade played so unfortunate a part. The rise of the powerful Fulani Empire forms the next most important portion of the book, and we are directed to think that the Fulani may be descendants of

the Hyksos in Egypt. Othmān dan Fodio, one of this race, led a holy war in the early years of the nineteenth century, and the Fulani hordes conquered the Western Soudan from Masina to Bornu. Sultan Bello, his son, followed him, but soon the empire began to show signs of decay. In 1886 political sanction was given to the Royal Niger Company, and the gradual British conquest of the country henceforward is well described. The Southern Emirates and Bornu were first occupied, and Kano and Sokoto conquered in 1903, and since then the territories have been administered according to the best traditions of British rule. The chapters on economic resources and development of trade will be found valuable, and the book, which is welcomed by all West Africans, is enriched by a good map.—A. F. S.

LUZAC AND CO., LONDON.

12. *First Steps in Muslim Jurisprudence*, by Alexander David Russell, M.A., LL.B., Chief Magistrate of the Colony of the Gambia, and Abdulla al Ma'mūn Suhrawardy, M.A., M.R.A.S. This handbook gives the Arabic text of excerpts from Bākūrat-al-Sa'd, with, in addition to an introduction and notes, the English translation, and so can scarcely fail to be sought after by English students either of Arabic or of the Sunni Muslim law. The existing books on the subject are all from a Hanafi standpoint, as the preface points out, and are compiled chiefly for, and from the outlook of, Indian lawyers. In Northern Africa, however, the purer rule of the Jurist Mālik (94-179 A.H.) is in use, and the authors of this short treatise rightly think that the excerpts they give from the work of his chief follower, Ibn Abū Zayd (312-389 A.H.), will be useful to law students, as his maxims were both clear and concise, unlike those of so many Muslim Jurists. The text of the "First-fruits of Happiness" is abridged, but does not lose by this. The authors omit the laws and maxims relating to slavery, not unwisely, while they retain those

regarding civil status, marriage, succession, gifts, wills, and guardianship—conditions which may receive sanction from colonial legislature, especially since Muslim law has been recognised in the British West African Colonies and Protectorates. Many valuable annotations and illustrations, *e.g.*, from Abū-l-Hasan, Al-'Adawī, Al-Sharnūbi, and Al-Jabari, are included, and notes on the very complex rules of succession—the authors carefully point out when they coincide with European law—are given in the appendix.—A. F. S.

NORTH CHINA HERALD OFFICE: SHANGHAI.

13. *The East of Asia*, vol. v., No. 1, March, 1906. An illustrated quarterly. The present number of this magazine maintains its usual standard of interest. The papers are varied and highly characteristic of Asiatic lore.

Archdeacon A. E. Moule's account of "Ningpo under the T'ai-p'ings" deserves the prominent place it occupies, for the account has all the value that an eyewitness naturally confers upon the subject selected for his theme. Treachery predominates in this historical crisis of China's history, which is rarely lacking among an overheated crowd of rebels bent on unrestrained mischief and bloodshed. "Lights and Shadows of Chinese Life," I. and II., by John Macgowan, and clever folk-lore stories are all pleasant reading, arousing varied emotions of pity and interest, amusement, and kindly concern.

The second number of this volume contains the conclusion of Archdeacon Moule's "Ningpo under the T'ai-p'ings." The interest is well sustained, and his reflections as to the best method of securing true peace to China's teeming millions is worthy of thoughtful consideration. "New China" by W. W. Lindsay throws another light upon the subject. It reveals the secret and ultimate object of the thirst for learning which is rapidly gaining ground all over the Celestial Empire. "Chinese Lives," by George T. Murray upholds the

warning note of the preceding paper, and both supply grave and careful study for all who are anxious to keep well in view the trend of events stealthily influencing this newly-aroused portion of the globe.

The East of Asia is constantly bringing this grave subject before the notice of its readers, and we should do well to digest this information, brought up-to-date, concerning a country wherein so many of our own people sojourn. "The Chinese Garden of Unnatural History" is a weird and fantastic paper illustrated with uncanny figures, from whose traditional existence all the folk-lore of the world may in some way or another claim descent.—S.

SEELEY AND CO.; LONDON, 1907.

14. The miniature portfolio monographs: *Things seen in Japan*, by Clive Holland. This book gives little that is new. It would be hard to find any sight or subject of interest to the traveller that has not already been discussed and described.

Still, there are varied ways of treating these subjects, and Mr. Clive Holland has contrived to weave a very pretty account of his observations. Moreover he has done well to almost interleave his pages with some of the most attractive snapshot photos we have seen of late. These are delightfully well-chosen, and their presence is as acceptable as a posy of newly-gathered spring flowers. We call attention especially to "A Japanese Fisherman drawing his Net," "Return of the Fishing-boats at Sunset," "A beautiful Private Garden," and others. The book is well got up, it is easy to hold, attractive to read, and inexpensive to purchase. It forms one of the publisher's series of monographs, who are happy in their choice of authors. They have done well in selecting *Things seen in Japan* as one of the series of little books for Christmas presents. The work is a pleasing monograph of general information relative to the sights and scenes witnessed daily in the land of fair Japan.—S.

EDWARD STANFORD; 12-14, LONG ACRE, LONDON, W.C.

15. *New Orographical Map of Asia*, compiled under the direction of H. J. MACKINDER, M.A., Director of the School of Economics and Political Science in the University of London, and lately Reader in Geography in the University of Oxford. Four sheets: 60 by 52 inches; 137·6 miles to an inch.

This excellent map is primarily intended to depict the physical features of the Continent, but by the employment of the device of grey, almost transparent, lettering, many names have been inserted without spoiling the graphic effect of the colouring. The confusion of ideas which often follows on the cursory study of maps whereon the lowlands are shown in one colour and the uplands in another, has been avoided by the employment of deepening tints of only one colour on the land, and of another on the sea. The contour lines have been drawn at the same intervals above and below sea level, with the result of rendering comparable the great positive and negative features of the region, such as the plateau of Tibet and the abysses of the ocean east of Japan. No selection of contours, however, which did not give an undesirable complexity to such a map as this, would suffice to bring out with equal distinctness all the important features. Hill shading has, therefore, been added in certain districts to mark features of local significance. The relative volume of the rivers has been carefully considered, and owing to the subdued lettering, the courses of the greater rivers obtain their proper emphasis. The whole of Europe has been included, and the essential unity of Europe and Asia is thus evident at a glance. The following are among the features which find conspicuous illustration in the scheme of contours which has been selected: (1) The plateau of Tibet and the Pamirs. (2) The more extensive although less lofty upland which spreads from Tibet north-eastward in the direction of Bering Strait. (3) The nucleus of higher ground, bearing

in part the name of Altai, placed upon the upland some distance to the north of Tibet. (4) The remarkable basin of the Tarim river enclosed, save to the east, by Tibet, the Pamirs, and the Thian Shan. (5) The "dry strait," known as Zungaria, which offers a way leading westward between the Altai and the Thian Shan. (6) The vast lowland lying to the west of the great upland, and spreading through Western Siberia, Russian Central Asia, and Russia in Europe. (7) The Ural range, dividing the great lowland into two nearly equal parts, and extending, with a bend like the blade of a sickle, through Nova Zembla. (8) The shallow seas off the Siberian coast, the resulting attachment of Nova Zembla, Francis Joseph Land, and Spitzbergen to Asia, and the continental edge descending to the Arctic abyss immediately to north of the two latter groups. (9) The depression of the ground below the ocean level in the south of the great lowland, and the Aral and Caspian Seas there. (10) The island garlands along the eastern edge of the continent. (11) The steep brink by which the bed of the shallow marginal seas descend into the abyss of the Pacific to the east, for instance, of the Lu Chu Islands. (12) The lowlands of Manchuria, North China, Central China, and South China. (13) The great shoal to the south-east of Asia, limited towards the Indian Ocean by the chain of the Sunda Islands, and pitted towards the Pacific by the deep enclosed China, Sulu, and Celebes Seas. (14) The continuity of the ridge which bears the Sunda, Nicobar, and Andaman Islands with the Yoma Range of Aracan. (15) The straightness of the submerged western edge of India, which shows no indication of the superficial gulfs of Cambay and Kutch. (16) The Malabar and Bonin ridges in the beds respectively of the Pacific and Indian Oceans. (17) The shallowness of Palk Strait. (18) The structurally insular character of the Deccan Plateau in the South of India. (19) The passage, not more than 1,000 feet above sea level, from the basin of the Indus to that of the Ganges in the neighbourhood of

Paniput. (20) The Iran Plateau containing Persia, Afghanistan, and Baluchistan. (21) The trench separating Persia from Arabia, which is bottomed in the north by the plain of the Euphrates-Tigris, and in the south by the Persian Gulf. (22) The essentially plateau character both of Arabia and Africa.

The political frontiers are indicated by dotted grey lines. Every public official library in Europe, India, and the East ought to possess this up-to-date and extremely useful and important map.

THACKER, SPINK AND CO. ; CALCUTTA, 1906.

16. *Odes from the Divan of Háfiz, freely rendered from Literal Translations*, by R. L. GALLIENNE. This is another attempt to render intelligible to English readers the spirit of Oriental poetry, which, owing chiefly to the essential difference between the ideas of East and West, has so often proved a failure. What it has proved in the present instance we propose to show by a few illustrations. Mr. L. Gallienne, unfortunately, lays himself open to criticism in two particulars: first, as to his method of adopting literal translations to his own purpose; and second, as to the style he adopts in setting out those translations. He endeavours to disarm criticism by saying in the preface to the book that he offers the rendering in the first place as poetry, and in the second as translation, stating his aim to have been to interpret the Persian poet Háfiz to English readers, so that the total result of his endeavours should be really, if not literally, Háfiz. On the former portion of this aim he enlarges by saying that he desired to make English poetry rather than a joyless shadow of a great classic. How he has succeeded we propose to show.

We choose for our illustration the well-known and often-quoted *Ghasal VIII.* under the letter Aliph or A, partly because the metre in which it is written is very familiar to English ears in the well-known description of the Battle of

Copenhagen by the poet Campbell, the opening lines of which run :

" Like Leviathans afloat lay our bulwarks on the brine,
While the sign of battle flies o'er the lofty British line."

The literal translation of the first two lines of the eighth *Ghazal* is as follows :

" If that Shirāzi Turk in his hand takes my heart,
For his Hindoo mole I will give Samarcand and Bukhárá ;

which may be thus accurately rendered in a rhymed couplet :

" If that Shirāzi Turk bring my heart in his control,
I will give Samarcand and Bukhárá for his Hindu mole,"

the original Persian being, written phonetically :

" Āgār ān Shīrāzī Türk be dúst ádrād díll-i máw-ráw,
Be Ehd-i Hinduyush Samarcand Búkhárá."

If the final syllables, which are merely particles of inflection of the pronoun and noun respectively, are cut off, it will be found that the lines correspond to those of the English couplet quoted above.

Let us now see into what poetry our author has turned the two lines. His first verse runs :

" You little Turk of Shiraz Town,
Freebooter of the hearts of men,
As beautiful, as says renown,
Are your freebooting Turcomen :
Dear Turco-maid—a plunderer too—
Here is my heart, and there your hand :
If you'll exchange, I give to you
Bokhara—yes! and Samarcand.
Indeed, I'd give them for the mole
Upon your cheek, and add thereto
Even my body and my soul."

Not making any further reference to the liberty—may we call it the poetic license?—taken with the *Turcomans* by styling them *Turcomen*, is this the style of English poetry Mr. Gallienne would call upon the public to admire, and is all the extraneous matter introduced as typical of the style

of the great Persian poet illustrative of the inner sense our author would put upon them ?

In case it should be thought that an unusually unfavourable specimen of our author's poetry has been chosen, we take the next two lines of the same *Ghazal*, literally translated, to compare with Mr. Gallienne's amplified and poetically rendered version :

"Cup-bringer, bring what wine is left. 'Thou wilt not find in heav'n
The water-side of Ruknabad, nor Mus'la's rose-bed e'en."

L. GALLIENNE :

"Come, bearer of the shining cup,
Bring the red grape into the sun,
That we may drink and drink it up,
Before our little day is done ;
For Ruknabad shall run and run,
And each year, punctual as spring,
The new-born nightingale shall sing
Unto Musella's new-born rose ;
But we shall not know anything.
Nor laugh nor weep, nor anywise
Listen or speak ; fast closed our eyes
And shut our eyes—in Paradise !"

One more illustration will probably suffice to show how far our author is justified in extolling his own production as equal to that of Háfiz :

"Thou hast strung pearls of song. Come, Háfiz, happily rehearse,
That heav'n the clustering Pleiades may scatter on thy verse."

L. Gallienne has this :

"Sweetheart, if you would hearken me,
I am a very wise old thing ;
And it were wise for you to hear,
My little Turk, my cypress dear ;
So wise this wisdom that I sing,
That some day on a shining string
High up in heaven, tear by tear,
At evening on the vestal sky
These little songs that Háfiz sang
To one that heard not on his knees :
So well I sang them—even I—

That listening to thee, heaven's Lord
 Tossed me from heaven as a ward
 The small change of the Pleiades!—
 These little songs that Háfiz sang
 To one who heard not on his knees."

Now, the allusion to the scattering of the Pleiades is to the custom of Orientals of sprinkling as a mark of appreciation or honour little spangles of gold-leaf on letters of ceremony or favourite poems, and the rest of the verse is coined entirely out of the author's imagination. But that it bears any resemblance to Háfiz's poetry, or in any way conveys his ideas, we must beg leave to deny. — A. ROGERS.

T. FISHER UNWIN, ADELPHI TERRACE, LONDON.

17. *A Literary History of Persia from Firdawsi to Sa'di*, by E. G. BROWNE, M.A., M.B., and Sir T. ADAMS, Professor of Arabic, Cambridge. We have never met with a book which, to those who know anything of the subject of which it treats, the literary history of Persia, requires more prolonged study to understand its full merits than this. It is, as stated in the preface, a continuation of a previous volume, embracing the period from the beginning of the eleventh century to the middle of the thirteenth century of our era. His previous volume is described in the present work as the *Prolegomena*, and the work itself contains some 543 pages in addition to a preface and a very full index, without the latter of which the detailed study of the work by any student desirous of mastering the details of any specific period in the history would be almost impossible, as there is a want of methodical arrangement in it which would render such study a matter of much time and painstaking labour. The details are so precise as to amount to an actual chronology of the poets, and most celebrated men of the periods treated of, and are consequently far greater than can be noticed in a brief magazine review. They not only note the dates of the birth and death of the poets and others mentioned, but go even so

far as to pass judgment on such dates when they vary in the writings of different authorities quoted. Such particulars are to our minds out of place, and redundant in what purports to be a history. They contain also numerous translations of quotations from different writers, some of them being literal and others more of the nature of paraphrases, some of them closely following their originals, and others unnecessarily free. Such a work, although most excellent for the purposes of the student, and abounding in information collected together by more than one hand, and hardly attainable elsewhere in such a short compass, must, as a rule, prove tedious and prolix to the ordinary reader. To the latter we can recommend its perusal with a good deal of skipping; but to the former, if he wishes thoroughly to go into the subject, it will certainly prove a mine of information, to dig into which and extract its really valuable ore will occupy much of his time and thought.—A. R.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: George Newnes, Limited, London and New York: *The Strand Magazine*, *The Grand Magazine*, *The Sunday Strand*, *The Wide World Magazine*;—C. B. Fry's *Magazine*;—*A Technological and Scientific Dictionary*, edited by G. F. Goodchild, B.A., and C. F. Tweney;—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder);—*The North American Review*;—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*. (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, continuing

"Hebraica" (University of Chicago Press);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Rapid Review* (C. Arthur Pearson, Henrietta Street, W.C.);—*The Theosophical Review* (The Theosophical Publishing Society, 161, New Bond Street, London, W.);—*The Board of Trade Journal* (with which is incorporated the *Imperial Institute Journal*), edited by the Commercial Department of the Board of Trade (Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, E.C.; Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh; Edward Ponsonby, Dublin);—*The Wednesday Review* of politics, literature, society, science, etc. (S. M. Raja Ram Rao, editor and proprietor, Teppakulam, Trichinopoly, Madras);—*The Hindustani Review and Kayastha Samachar*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road);—*Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893), August, September, and October, 1906 (the Imperial Institute, London, S.W.);—*The Hindu* (published at the National Press, 100, Mount Road, Madras);—*The Busy Man's Magazine* (The Maclean Publishing Company, Ltd., Toronto);—*The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* (Luzac and Co., London; Bombay Education Society's Press, Bombay);—*The Literary Digest*, which now includes *American Public Opinion* (Funk and Wagnalls Co., publishers, New York and London.)

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone our notices of the following works: *Ancient Records of Egypt*: historical documents from the earliest times to the Persian Conquest. Collected, edited, and translated, with commentary, by James Henry Breasted, PH.D. Vol. i.: "The First to the Seventeenth Dynasties." Vol. ii.: "The Eighteenth Dynasty." Vol. iii.: "The Nineteenth Dynasty." Vol. iv.: "The Twentieth to the Twenty-sixth Dynasties" (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1906; London: Luzac and Co.; Leipzig: Otto Harrasowitz);—*Ad-Damiri's Hayât Al-Hayawân* (a

Zoological Lexicon), translated from the Arabic by Lieutenant-Colonel A. S. G. Jayakar, I.M.S. (retired), vol. i. (London: Luzac and Co.; Bombay: D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., 1906);—*The Ancient World*: a historical sketch, with comparative chart of principal events, being vol. ii. of "Reflections on some Leading Facts and Ideas of History: their Meaning and Interest," with special chapters on the Bible lands, by C. W. Whish (London: Luzac and Co., 1906);—*The Life of Sir Richard Burton*, by Thomas Wright, vols. i. and ii. (London: Everett and Co., 1906);—*Persia Past and Present*: a book of travel and research, with more than two hundred illustrations and a map, by A. V. Williams Jackson (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1906);—*Studies in the Bacteriology and Etiology of Oriental Plague*, by E. Klein, M.D., F.R.S., with eighty-nine photograms (London: Macmillan and Co., 1906);—*At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*: or notes on the kingly office in West Africa, by R. E. Dennett (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1906);—*The Industrial Organization of an Indian Province*, by Theodore Morison (London: John Murray, 1906);—*Portuguese East Africa*: the history, scenery, and great game of Manica and Sofala, by R. C. F. Maugham (London: John Murray, 1906);—*Recollections of a Lucknow Veteran, 1845-1876*, by Major-General J. Ruggles (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1906);—*Psychology applied to Legal Evidence and other Constructions of Law*, by G. F. Arnold, I.C.S. (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co., 1906);—*Tai-Shang Kan-Ying P'ien*: treatise of the Exalted One on response and retribution, translated from the Chinese by Teitaro Suzuki and Dr. Paul Carus, containing introduction, Chinese text, verbatim translation, translation, explanatory notes and moral tales, edited by Dr. Paul Carus (Chicago, Ill.: The Open Court Publishing Co.; London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd., 1906);—*Thrice-Greatest Hermes*: studies in Hellenistic theosophy and gnosis:

being a translation of the extant sermons and fragments of the Trismegistic literature, with prolegomena, commentaries, and notes, by G. R. S. Mead. Vol. i.: "Prolegomena." Vol. ii.: "Sermons." Vol. iii.: "Excerpts and Fragments" (London and Benares: The Theosophical Publishing Society, 1906);—*Under the Sun*: impressions of Indian cities, with a chapter dealing with the later life of Nana Sahib, by Perceval Landon (London: Hurst and Blackett, Ltd., 1906);—*The Mohammedan World of To-day*: being papers read at the first missionary conference on behalf of the Mohammedan world, held at Cairo, April 4-9, 1906, edited by S. M. Zwemer, F.R.G.S., E. M. Wherry, D.B., and James L. Barton, D.D. (Fleming H. Revell and Co., London, Edinburgh, and New York);—*The Religion of Islām*, by the Rev. F. A. Klein (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd., 1906);—*The Great Plateau*, being an account of exploration in Central Tibet, 1903, and of the Gartok Expedition, 1904-1905, by Captain C. G. Rawling (London: Edward Arnold, 1905);—*The Egyptian Heaven and Hell*, by E. A. Wallis Budge, M.A., etc. Vol. i.: "The Book Am-Zuat." Vol. ii.: "The Book of Gates." Vol. iii.: "The Contents of the Books of the Other World Described and Compared" (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd., 1905);—*With Mounted Infantry in Tibet*, by Brevet-Major W. J. Otteley (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1906);—*A Summer Ride through Western Tibet*, by Jane E. Duncan (London: Smith, Elder and Co., Ltd., 1906);—*Lift Irrigation*, by Alfred Chatterton (Madras: G. A. Natesan and Co.);—*Asia*. Vol. i.: "Northern and Eastern Asia," by A. H. Keane, LL.D., F.R.G.S., second edition, revised and corrected (London: Edward Stanford, 1906);—*Every-day Life in Bengal*, and other Indian sketches, by William H. Hart (London: Charles H. Kelly);—*Afghanistan*, by Angus Hamilton (London: William Heinemann, 1906);—*The Golden Threshold*, by Sarojini Naidu, with an introduction by Arthur Symonds (London: William Heinemann,

1906);—*Report* of the first Indian Industrial Conference held at Benares on Saturday, December 30, 1905 (Allahabad: Printed at the Indian Press, 1906);—*A Real Mahatma*: a personal study, by T. C. Crawford (London: Luzac and Co., 1906);—*Die Mon-Khmer-Völker edin bindeglied Zwischen Völkern Zentralasiens und Austro-nesiens*, von P. W. Schmidt, s.v.d. (Braunschweig Druck und Verlag von Friedrich Vieweg und Sohn, 1906);—*Philosophical Texts of the Mahabharatam*, by Dr. Paul Deussen (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1906);—*Occasional Report No. 3*: "The Educational System of Japan," by W. H. Sharp, M.A. (Bombay: Printed at the Government Central Press, 1906);—*Gods and Heroes of Old Japan*, by Violet M. Pasteur (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd., 1906);—*Tamil Grammar Self-taught*: in Tamil and Roman characters, by Don M. de Zilva Wickremasinghe (London: E. Marlborough and Co.);—*Israel in the Bible and in History*, by William Pumfrey, with a preface by the Rev. A. Herbert, M.A. (London: Robert Banks and Son).

A NEW YEAR'S GREETING.

We are favoured with the following beautiful lines, from the Rev. Dr. Pope, of Oxford, as a New Year's greeting.

[These lines are a translation of No. 182 in the Ancient Tamil Anthology called PURA-NĀNĀRU. They are said to have been composed by a Pāṇḍiyan Prince of Madura, whose title was ILAM-PERU-VARUTHI. Of this young Prince no other trace is to be found, except a tradition that he was drowned in the sea. To us it will seem that there is but One Who, in all its fulness, and beyond, was what these nobles lines depict. The poem in Tamil is exceedingly beautiful, and the translation represents it as nearly as I found it possible to render it.]

This world abides unmov'd, while changeful ages roll,
 Since in it men abide of pure unselfish soul.
 Though round their path immortal fruits of heaven were strown,
 These, by any sweetness tempted, feast not alone.
 No hate their bosoms cherish,—strong in self-control.
 Promptly e'en life itself they yield for Glory's meed;
 Not all the world to gain, do they one shameful deed.
 They slumber not supine, but share their fellows' fears;
 Where others weep, their eyes shed sympathetic tears.
 They strive for others' weal, unmindful of their own.
 Since in this changeful world such noble men are known,
 This world abides unmov'd, through all the changing years!

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA: GENERAL.—It is expected that the Ameer will reach India on his visit to the Viceroy this month. Among other places, he will visit Lahore, Delhi, Sirhind, Aligarh, Bombay, Karachi, and Bahawalpur. A sum of 5 lacs of rupees (£33,330) has been sanctioned for a military display on the occasion. About twenty ruling chiefs will assemble at Agra in honour of the visit. The programme will include the State meeting of the Viceroy with the Ameer, a military review, the holding of a chapter of Indian orders, a viceregal garden-party, and a reception.

The Viceroy, when addressing a durbar of Baluchi chiefs at Quetta, referred with satisfaction to the visit to India of the Ameer of Afghanistan, and anticipated that the good relations with Afghanistan, which this visit indicated, would lead to an improvement in the situation on the northern frontier of Baluchistan.

Lord Kitchener's recent tour in Nepal showed the extreme friendliness of the Durbar towards the Indian Government, questions relating to the recruitment of Gurkhas for the Indian Army were satisfactorily discussed.

Lord Minto received a deputation who presented to him an address from the Mohammedan community of India. See the text of the address and Lord Minto's reply elsewhere in this *Review*, under "Correspondence and Notes."

October 16. On the first anniversary of the inauguration of the constitution of the provinces of Bengal and Assam, mass meetings of Mohammedans were held throughout Eastern Bengal, and passed resolutions congratulating the Government.

A marble statue of Queen Victoria was unveiled at Nagpur by Sir Andrew Fraser, late Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces.

The correspondence in reference to the resignation of

Sir J. B. Fuller, late Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam, has been laid before the House of Commons, and is published as a Parliamentary paper.

The gross realizations of the year from irrigation works in the United Provinces amounted to 89 lacs of rupees, or 15 lacs below those of 1904-5. During the year the net revenue was approximately $53\frac{1}{2}$ lacs, and net profits $18\frac{3}{4}$ lacs. One hundred and fifty-six miles of new channels were constructed, thus bringing the total of all channels up to 13,709 miles. The value of the crops raised during the year by the aid of the canal water amounted to $13\frac{1}{2}$ crores of rupees.

The effect of the improvement of the Indian tea trade relations with foreign and colonial countries during 1906 is in all directions apparent. Australia has taken 4,890,000 pounds, against 3,850,000 pounds; America, 7,713,000 pounds, against 6,777,000 pounds; Russia, 8,798,000 pounds, against 7,454,000 pounds; Bombay for Persia, 2,605,000 pounds, against 2,431,000 pounds; sundry ports 3,171,000 pounds, against 1,942,000 pounds.

In consequence of great illness amongst the Peshawar troops, the divisional manœuvres fixed for November were postponed till February next.

Sanction has been given by Parliament for an artillery and cavalry cantonment to be established between Nowshera and Hoti Murdan.

In consequence of the inquiries by the Police Commission appointed by the late Viceroy's Government, the Secretary of State for India has sanctioned certain proposals for the reorganization of the police for all the provinces and the presidency cities.

During the year ending March 31 last over 700 new primary schools for boys and girls were opened in the Punjab, with an increased attendance of about 25,000. The number of female pupils rose by 25 per cent., and that of Mohammedans by about 17 per cent.

In the report on the income-tax administration of the

Punjab for the year 1905-6 the revenue shows an increase from Rs. 12,13,905 to Rs. 12,31,792.

The number of persons under State relief throughout India at present exceeds 62,000.

The Geological Survey Department of India has discovered naphtha or petroleum in another district in Burma.

Mr. Stewart Wilson has been appointed Director-General of Post Offices, in succession to Sir Arthur Fanshawe.

Mr. J. F. Finlay, C.S.I., succeeds Mr. J. P. Hewett as ordinary member of the Governor-General's Council in charge of the Department of Commerce and Industry.

Mr. Dinsha Dhanjibhai Dawar takes the place of the late Mr. Badruddin Tyabji as Judge of the High Court of Judicature at Bombay.

The Hon. Munshi Madho Lal, United Provinces, and the Maharaja of Darbhanga, have been nominated to be additional members of the Viceroy's Council.

Mr. Dadabhai Naoriji has been elected President of the National Congress.

The Madras Government have passed orders sanctioning the proposals for the alteration of the territorial limits of the Tanjore and Nagapatam divisions, directing that the divisions should be known as Cauvery and Vennar divisions respectively, the latter to be organized as a first-class division. The sum of Rs. 14,460 has been sanctioned for the construction of a hospital at Ramachandrapuram, Godavery District. Orders have also been passed authorizing the Accountant-General to place at the disposal of the Madras Port Trust Board the sum of 2.56 lacs of rupees. This is the first instalment of the loan for the improvement of the Madras Harbour.

The Hon. Sir Arthur Lawley laid the foundation-stone of the Central Agricultural College and Institute for Research at Coimbatore on September 24 last.

Dr. Morris Travers, Professor of Chemistry at the University College, Bristol, has been appointed Director of the

Indian Institute of Science which is to be established at Bangalore.

Mr. T. T. Logan has been appointed an additional member of the Legislative Council, in place of the Hon. Dr. Bourne, resigned.

The proposed new road through Bhutan into the Chumbi Valley is at present in abeyance, but the existing road will be improved.

PERSIA.—By the regulations for the election of the Persian Parliament, all Persians of the male sex able to read and write, and between the ages of thirty and seventy, who are not in the service of the State, and who have never been convicted of crime, are entitled to vote. Persia is divided into twelve electoral districts, each returning from six to nineteen deputies. Teheran forms a separate and thirteenth division, returning sixty deputies. The total number of deputies will be 156, and be elected for two years, with personal inviolability. They are, however, responsible for offences against religious morals or the public order, and will be tried by Parliament. The President, two Vice-Presidents, and four Secretaries will be elected annually.

Ala-es-Saltaneh is Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Muhtasham-es-Sultanah Minister to Great Britain.

The National Council was opened at Teheran on October 7.

With reference to the Turco-Persian frontier conflict, the British and Russian Embassies, on October 30, presented separately to the Porte their proposals, which were cordially received by the Porte.

In consequence of the attempt of the local authorities at Kerbela to collect a disputed tax, the Persian subjects met at the British Vice-Consulate, demanding protection. Troops were ordered to disperse the demonstration, and a fight ensued, in which about twenty soldiers were wounded. The Persian Ambassador made a strong protest to the Porte, and demanded reparation.

Shah-us-Sultanah, the second son of the Shah, having been nominated by His Majesty as Minister of Justice and Commerce, on assuming his office was met with strong objections, accompanied by threats of disturbance. This led to the cancellation of the appointment.

It is stated that the trade of Persia with Russia during the year 1905-6 amounted to 391,835,340 krans (£7,836,705); Great Britain, 148,417,254 krans (£2,968,345); Turkey, 58,180,163 krans (£1,163,603); Germany, 7,167,289 krans (£143,345).

TURKEY IN ASIA: YEMEN.—The Imam Mohammed Yaha, having been hard pressed by a rival Imam, commanding a strong following in the north of Yemen, supported by the Turks, the Turkish Government reopened negotiations with Yaha through the Sheriff of Mecca. Yaha offered to pay a tribute, and to recognise the suzerainty of the Sultan, provided autonomy was granted.

CHINA.—An Imperial Edict on opium has been duly sanctioned and issued. It contains eleven articles, the text of which will be found among the Correspondence and Notes of our present issue.

An Imperial Edict was issued on November 6 making various important rearrangements of the high offices of the Central Administration in Peking. The following are some of the changes: The Grand Council, Grand Secretariat, Wai-wu-pu; Board of Education and Board of Civil Office remain unchanged. The number of boards is still ten, and it is stated that a Naval Board will be instituted. The Board of Works is merged into the Board of Commerce, and a new Board of Communications is created, to control telegraphs, steamships, railways, and posts. All the Boards in the future will have only one President and two Vice-Presidents.

A severe famine prevails in the north of the province of Kiang-su, and about ten millions of people are reported to be on the brink of starvation, and spasmodic rioting continues among the distressed population. An influential

Chinese and foreign committee is being formed in Shanghai to relieve the famine.*

The British and German Post-Office authorities at Shanghai announce that they will no longer despatch the mails by the Suez route, but will send them by way of Canada, thus saving a week.

Harold Frederick King has been appointed His Majesty's Consul for the Consular District of Wuchhw, and Herbert Allan Ottewill Vice-Consul at Tien-tsin.

Sir John Newell Jordan, K.C.M.G., has been appointed His Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Emperor of China.

HONG KONG.—A disastrous typhoon occurred at Hong Kong on September 18, causing great distress to the inhabitants. A great many lives were lost, and an entire fishing fleet of 600 junks was swept away. The total damage in the colony is estimated at £2,000,000.

MANCHURIA.—With the exception of the railway guards, all the Russian forces have been withdrawn. Chita, in Transbaikalia, will be the most important military depot of the Siberian Railway west of Manchuria. No arrangement has been made for Customs on the Russian frontier, but the principle has been agreed upon.

JAPAN.—An agreement has been adopted between Japan and Russia by which the subjects of either Power will be entitled to free travel and residence in Manchuria.

The final list of rewards for the rank and file of the Japanese forces engaged in the war with Russia has been gazetted. The recipients number 516,426, of whom 439,926 receive both decorations and pecuniary awards.

Prince Sadanaru Fushimi has been ordered to proceed to England, to return the visit of Prince Arthur of Connaught.

Mr. Isuzuki, Chief Secretary to the Privy Council, Tokio, and other experts, have been appointed to represent Japan at the next Hague Conference.

The operations in Formosa have ended successfully.

* The Lord Mayor of London has opened a fund for the same purpose.

and large tracts of land for agriculture, camphor forests, and tea plantations have been added for cultivation.

The Japanese have decided to bridge the Ya-lu River at Yongampo. The bridge will cost 2,000,000 yen (£200,000). It will be completed at the same time as the Wi-ju-Mukden railway, and thus establish direct communication between Mukden and Fu-san.

The Anglo-Japanese Bank, composed of British and Japanese capitalists, was officially sanctioned on December 3.

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.—The Currency Order has been passed making gold a legal tender.

EGYPT AND THE SOUDAN.—The Sultan, having finally yielded to Great Britain's demand for a straight line of demarcation from Akabah to Rafah, on the basis of the agreement on the subject of the Egyptian boundary dispute concluded on May 14 last, the Turkish force stationed at Kussimeh was withdrawn on September 25. The maps prepared by the Anglo-Egyptian surveyors have been signed by the Turkish Commissioners.

The Egyptian Army is to be strengthened by one new Soudanese battalion. The strength of the Arab battalion will be increased, and one company will be recruited of Kordofan Arabs and added to the Camel Corps. On the other hand, the cavalry will be reduced by one squadron.

In the Budget for 1907 the revenue is set down at £E14,740,000, and the expenditure at £E14,240,000, leaving a surplus of £E500,000. Revenue and expenditure each show an increase of £E1,240,000, as compared with the Budget for 1906.

The amount allotted for covering the deficiency in the Soudan revenue is £E380,000.

Saad Bey Zaghloul has been appointed Minister of Education. This has given much satisfaction.

AFRICA : TRANSVAAL.—A deputation was introduced to the Colonial Secretary on November 8 by Sir Lepel Griffin on the bearing of the recent Ordinance affecting the position of the British Indians in the Transvaal. Lord Elgin

promised to give his most attentive consideration to the arguments put before him by the deputation.

In the second week in November, while a Commissioner was engaged in carrying out an order for the removal of three rebellious natives from Amos Matabi's kraal, a faction fight took place, in which about 300 natives are reported to have been engaged. Several were injured. The constabulary arrested 200 of the natives.

The Imperial Government has given notice to the High Commissioner that the ordinance of last September affecting British Indians should not at present be brought into operation.

NATAL COLONY.—The Legislative Assembly rejected the Bill for the abolition of the poll-tax, and also a Bill for restricting the issue of trade licenses to persons possessing the franchise.

The Natal Ministry resigned on the ground that it is not supported by an adequate majority in Parliament. A new Ministry has been formed, with Mr. Moor as Premier and Minister of Native Affairs.

CAPE COLONY.—On November 15 last Lord Selborne laid the foundation-stone of a new dock at Simon's Town.

The Transvaal Assembly will consist of sixty-nine members—thirty-four for the Rand, nine for Pretoria, and the rest for rural districts.

On November 12 last a Transvaaler named Ferreira and several other Boers recently employed in German South-West Africa raided police posts in North-West Cape Colony, seizing arms and ammunition, and wounding and killing several troopers. A police force encountered Ferreira's men fourteen miles from Upington. After half an hour's fighting the raiders retreated. A body of Cape Mounted Rifles and others, under Sub-Inspector Adams, finally captured Ferreira and his followers on November 16, in the district of Gordonia.

The revenue of Central South African railways for 1906 will probably show a deficit of £600,000, as compared with

the estimates: Commercial depression, coupled with the surrender of part of the railway revenue as a set-off to the increased Customs duties, is considered to have produced this result.

At the Conference at Johannesburg for the settlement of the railway rates dispute, each South African colony will be represented by a Minister and a railway expert.

The Imperial Union Congress this year was held at Grahamstown. There was a large attendance of delegates.

The intercolonial revenue for the year ended June last amounted to £6,737,653, being an excess of £746,822 over the estimates. The total receipts, including balances, amounted to £15,619,144.

AFRICA : NIGERIA.—Sir F. Lugard has resigned the High Commissionership of Northern Nigeria.

The Governor having returned from his tour from Northern Nigeria on October 21, opened for traffic the railway extension from Ibadan to Iwo, a distance of thirty miles.

The persons implicated in the Agbor rising have been tried at Agbor. Nine of them were sentenced to death, and forty-one others to various terms of imprisonment. The latter, who have been deported to Warri, include the King of Owa.

CONGO.—A Convention has been concluded with a Belgian company for the construction of a railway from Leopoldville to Kantanga.

The British Foreign Secretary, replying to a deputation on November 20, on the Congo question, intimated that if the Belgian Government did not take in hand the present state of affairs he would communicate with the other Powers. See correspondence on the subject of the Congo in our present issue.

MOROCCO.—The Commission which sat in Paris to draw up the statutes of the Morocco State Bank completed its task on November 9, and has been approved by the censors. See particulars in our last issue relating to this matter, pp. 302-305.

At a council of Ministers held in Paris on November 13, the Minister of Foreign Affairs announced that Spain, Great Britain, and France, had decided not to take into consideration the reservations made by the Maghzen regarding the Algeciras Act.

AUSTRALIA : THE COMMONWEALTH.—A Preferential Tariff Treaty with South Africa has been arranged reciprocally. The South African Customs Union grants preference on a number of articles, principally butter, flour, beef, and mutton, and undressed timber. Feathers being the only item on the schedule actually imported into Australia from South Africa, are granted a preference of 5 per cent. The Federal House of Representatives in Melbourne ratified the above treaty, adding Angora hair and uncut diamonds to the free list.

A deputation of the Victorian branch of the Defence League of Australia, having submitted to Mr. Deakin, the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth, a proposal that the Government should invite all males between the ages of eighteen and forty-five to volunteer for service in a corps to be called the First National Reserve, the strength of which should be fixed at 60,000, Mr. Deakin has referred the scheme to the Inspector-General of Defence.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—The Legislative Council of New South Wales has passed the Mining Bill, simplifying the existing mining laws and enlarging the opportunities for mining on Crown and private lands.

In view of the great agricultural development in the northern rivers districts of the State, a Bill has passed the Legislative Assembly for the construction of a railway connecting the territory with the main northern system. The line will be 310 miles long. Its cost is estimated at £2,600,000.

The trade returns show large increases in both imports and exports. The total imports and exports for the first nine months of 1906 amounted in value to £43,885,528.

Statistical returns for the September quarter of 1906

show that the population of New South Wales was 1,524,580, being an increase of 10,340. The increase since the beginning of the year was 28,350.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—The State Treasurer in his Budget speech on October 1, 1906, estimated the revenue at £3,592,000, and the expenditure at £3,588,000. The Budget deficit at the end of the last financial year was £119,000, and it is proposed to reduce this to £116,000 at the end of the current year.

NEW ZEALAND.—A penny postage has been established between the United States and New Zealand.

The Colonial Government propose to arrange a preferential tariff with South Africa.

The Christchurch Exhibition was opened on November 1 by Lord Plunket. Exhibits were displayed from Canada, Victoria, New South Wales, as well as from England.

A monument to Captain Cook was unveiled on October 8 at Poverty Bay, the spot where he first landed in New Zealand.

Dr. Findlay has been appointed Attorney-General and Colonial Secretary, in place of the late Colonel Pitt.

NEW HEBRIDES.—The Convention approving the arrangement concluded on February 27, 1906, on the subject of the New Hebrides, was signed in London on October 20, 1906, by M. Cabon, the French Ambassador in London, and Sir Edward Grey, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The Convention, which comprises sixty-eight articles, has for its object the reorganization of the administration of the New Hebrides; it guarantees the respective interests of French, British, and natives, as well as fixing the conditions of owning land.

Great disappointment has been expressed, as giving alleged prominence to French interests and endangering the British trade route between Australia and America.

The proclamation with regard to the New Hebrides will prohibit the export from Australia to the islands, except

under permit, of arms and ammunition and all sorts of spirits.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—A settlement has been concluded with Great Britain relative to the fisheries. The Legislature will assert colonial authority.

CANADA.—The Canadian Parliament was opened on November 22. Lord Grey announced the introduction this session, among other Bills, that relating to the tariff, the treaty with Japan, and an increase in the representation of the North-Western Provinces.

Mr. Fielding, the Dominion Minister of Finance, announced in a speech on the tariff, at Montreal, on November 20 last, that the preference granted to British goods would be retained, and that special duties would be levied on imports from countries which discriminate against Canada.

He also announced, in his Budget speech on November 29, that he anticipated a surplus in the present fiscal year of \$13,000,000 (£2,600,000), and a reduction of net debt of \$1,500,000 (£300,000).

British imports from Canada during the first nine months of 1906 were £1,031,000 more than in the same period of 1905. The Customs revenue to the end of 1906 was estimated at £10,000,000.

The wheat crop of the prairie provinces is 90,800,000 bushels, an increase of 6,500,000. Of this quantity Manitoba produced 58,700,000 bushels, Saskatchewan 29,300,000 bushels, and Alberta 2,800,000 bushels. The mineral production of the Dominion in 1905 amounted to £13,714,941, an increase of £1,700,000 over the previous year. Gold produced £2,897,366. The total production of pig-iron during the first six months of 1906 was 282,010 tons, as compared with 257,494 in the first half of 1905.

Over 1,460 East Indians arrived in British Columbia since January 1, 1906. It is stated that the Dominion Government will introduce legislation this session to restrict the immigration.

The complete returns of the census in Manitoba show that it ranks fourth among the provinces, with a population of 360,570.

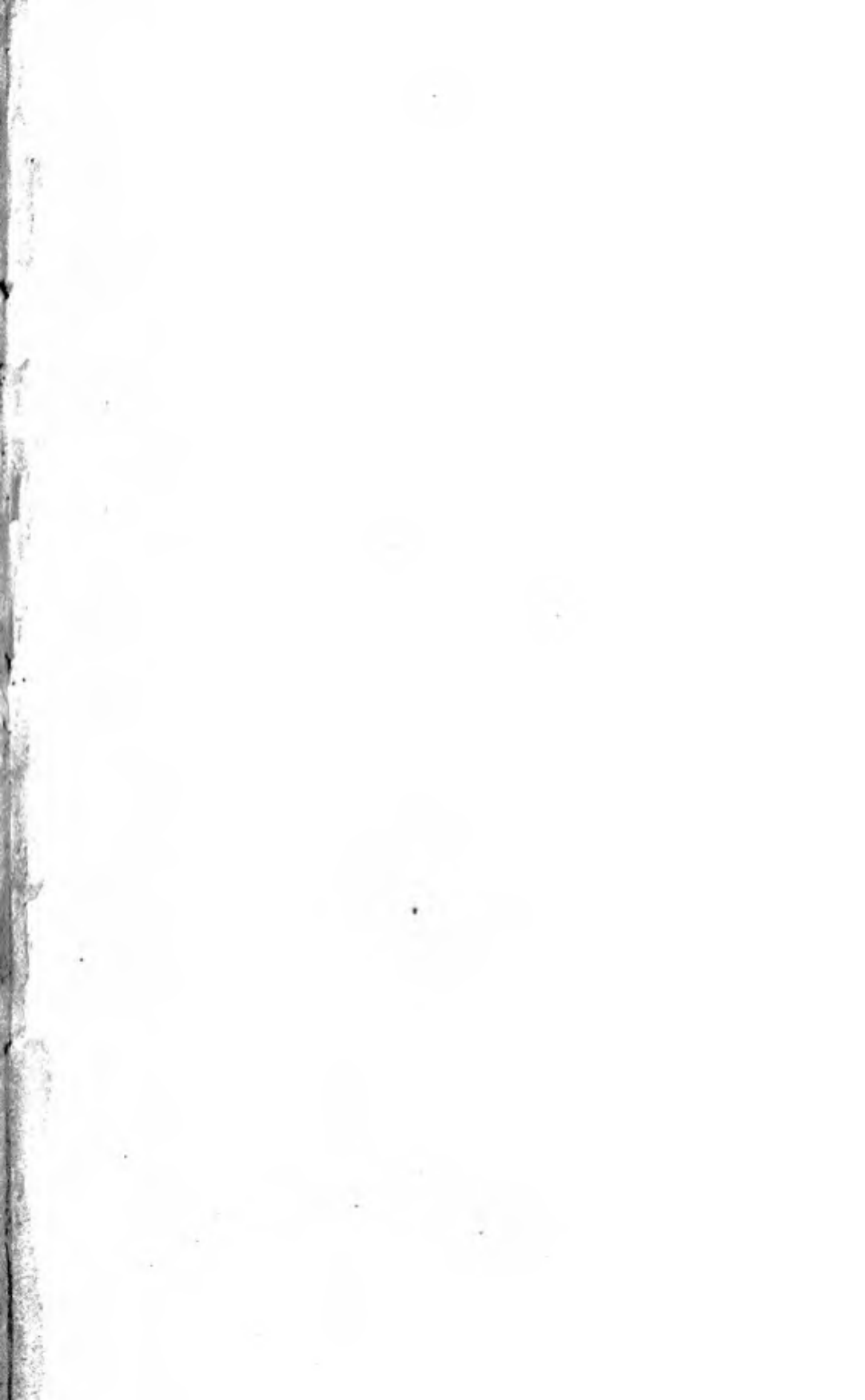
Electrical energy generated at Niagara Falls was delivered in Toronto—a distance of eighty miles—on November 19. A supply of 40,000 horse-power is available.

Mr. J. M. Courtney has resigned his position as Deputy Minister of Finance, after thirty-six years' service.

Obituary.—The deaths have been recorded during the past quarter of the following: Edward William Fane Martin, Colonel 5th Gurkha Rifles;—John Folliott Blandford, for forty-four years missionary in Travancore;—Colonel E. N. Marsh, late Bombay Staff Corps, entered 1848 (Punjab campaign, Indian Mutiny);—Major-General G. N. Stephens, Madras Staff Corps, entered 1850;—Babu Ananda Mohun Bose, of Calcutta, for some time represented the Calcutta University on the Bengal Legislative Council;—Surgeon-General William Williamson, late Indian Army;—Lieutenant-General William Godfrey Dunham Massy (Redan, Cabul, from 1888-93 commanded the troops in Ceylon);—Major-General J. D. Williams, East Indian Army;—Hon. Sir James Acworth Davies, late senior Judge, High Court of Madras;—Major A. G. S. Beadnell, late King's Own Scottish Borderers, entered 1871 (Afghan war 1878-79, Peshawar Valley Field Force);—Colonel Charles Ellison Bates, 32nd Sikh Pioneers (Bundelkhand 1859, China 1860, Bhutan 1865, Looshar 1870, Afghan campaign 1878);—Brigade-Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Crombie, C.B., M.D., I.M.S. (retired);—John Meredith Douglas Lawes, late Punjab Frontier Force;—General W. W. H. Scott, C.B., late Indian Army (Abyssinian expedition 1867-68, Chitral Relief Force 1895);—Major-General William Spencer Cooper (Burmese campaign 1852-53, Indian Mutiny, Eusufzai expedition 1858);—Lieutenant-Colonel E. Burroughs, late Bombay Cavalry (Afghan war 1878-80);—Lieutenant-Colonel George F. H. Dillon, C.B., Indian Army (Burma 1886-88, Lushai 1889, Marzistan 1894-95, North-West Frontier 1897-98);—Major G. W. Rawlins, Officiating Assistant Military Secretary, Western Command, India, Aide-de-camp to General Sir Archibald Hunter;—Captain F. J. King-King (Indian Mutiny);—Captain F. A. Pilkington, Indian Medical Service;—Khan Bahadur Sheikh Khuda Bukhsh, district Judge of Gurdaspore, at Amritsar;—Lieutenant-Colonel W. A. Russell, entered 1862, Staff-Veterinary Officer in India under Lord Roberts;—Brigadier-General Seymour Charles Hale Monro, C.B. (Afghan campaigns 1878-80, Egyptian campaign 1882, Bechuanaland expedition 1884, Hazara campaign 1891, Chitral and Tirah campaigns 1895 and 1897-98, Africa 1899);—Major-General Cecil Mangles, C.B. (Suakim expedition 1885);—Captain M. R. Elles, R.E. (North-West Frontier campaign 1897, Tirah expedition);—Raja Ram-partab Singh of Manipuri; Major-General George Allgood, C.B., late

Indian Army, entered 1846 (Sikh war, Multan, Mutiny, China campaign 1860);—Charles Ogilvie Halliday, Captain Royal Engineers of India;—James Lindsay Stirling, Executive Engineer P.W.D. India;—Major-General Sir William Galbraith, K.C.B., entered 1855 (Afghan war, 1878-80, Hazara expedition 1888);—Colonel Robert Frederick Williams, late Bombay Grenadiers, N.I. (Punjab 1848-49, Indian Mutiny);—Major Henry George Raverty, entered East India Company in 3rd Bombay Infantry in 1843 (Punjab 1849-50);—Charles Samuel Walliker, late of Cachar, India;—Viraraghava Chariar, a prominent leader of the Indian community in Southern India, one of the founders of the *Hindu*;—Raja Raba Varma of Travancore;—Khan Bahadur Nawab Syed Shams-ud-din Ali Khan, retired in 1896 as Assistant Commissioner of the Berars;—Sir Walter Morgan, late Chief Justice of Madras;—Leighton Hamerton Baker Tucker, late H.M.'s Bombay Civil Service;—Lieutenant-Colonel George Pumfrett (Crimea campaign, Bulganac, Balaclava, Inkerman, Tchernaya, Sevastopol, Afghan campaign 1878-79);—Colonel Francis Arthur Whin-yates, entered 1854 (Crimea, Indian Mutiny);—Lieutenant-Colonel Percival Robert Innes, late of Bengal Fusiliers;—Nawab of Kurwai;—Edward Brettain Steedman, late I.C.S.;—John Morison, barrister Government Legislative Department;—Captain Charles Lionel Strelley Upton, of Royal Garrison Artillery;—Colonel Archibald Edward Duthy (Afghan war 1879-80, Kandahar, Indian Frontier);—Major-General John Morris Hunter, Royal (late Madras) Engineers;—John Makgill, Captain Royal Madras Engineers;—Deputy Surgeon-General Julius Wiles, joined 1854 (Crimean war, China war 1860, Ashanti campaign 1874);—Ralph Edward Barton, Lieutenant 8th Mounted Battery, Curree, India;—Major-General Charles Frederick North, late Royal (Bombay) Engineers (Afghan campaign 1838-39, Herat 1843, Persian expedition 1857);—Lieutenant-General Sir Robert Gordon Rogers, K.C.B. (Frontier and other Indian campaigns between 1863 and 1880, Cairo 1882);—Colonel W. B. Gosset, late Royal Engineers (Indian Mutiny 1858);—Captain Louis C. Kettle, of India (South Staffordshire Regiment);—William Griffith, sometime Resident Engineer South Indian Railway, Madras;—Rev. Alex. Ramsay Macduff, late Chaplain, Lahore and Dharmasala, India;—John Morrison, of the Legislative Department, the Government of India;—John Macfarlane, Imperial Library, Calcutta;—General Sir John Louis Nation, K.C.B., of the Indian Army.

December 8, 1906.





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H.I.M. MOZAFFAR-OD-DIN, THE LATE SHAH OF PERSIA.

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HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY THE LATE SHAH
OF PERSIA.

BY "IDHEM-AL-FÂNI."

MOZAFFAR-OD-DIN SHAH, whose death is mourned by all his subjects, and regretted throughout Asia and Europe, passed away at the comparatively early age of fifty-three, to the great sorrow of his people, who loved their kind and wise Sovereign, and of whose high and beneficial aims for his country they were well aware. They console themselves, however, by the fact that he has left a most worthy successor in the person of his firstborn son, Prince Mohammad Ali Mirza, whom to-day they hail as their Sovereign.

The late Shah was the second son of the lamented Naser-od-Din, whose assassination in 1896 is still fresh in our memories. Mozaffar-od-Din was the fifth ruler of the Kadjar dynasty, and was born in 1853. When yet a child his father was called upon to ascend the throne of Persia, and in accordance with the time-honoured custom of appointing the heirs-apparent as Viceroys of Azerbaijan, he was at once sent to that large and important province. Being still a child—for he was not more than twelve years of age at that time—he was, of course, merely the nominal Viceroy for the time being, and the government was carried on by a Deputy-Governor sent from Tehran.

Meanwhile he was put under the care of tutors and professors, both Persian and European. He soon plunged himself into the mysteries of Persian and Arabic philosophy, and into the charms of the beautiful literature of his country, of which he was later to become one of the most zealous promoters and the most illustrious and energetic patron. Among the literary men of Persia his name in later years became known as that of a writer of great elegance and ingenuity. His late Majesty was a great admirer and lover of the immortal poets to whom his country has given birth, and particularly of those illustrious sons of Shiraz who, under the azure sky of their native land, and amid its beautiful surroundings and in its balmy and inspiring clime, have produced such masterpieces of verse and prose, which have given them and their country world-wide renown. Of the great moralist and philosopher Sadi His Majesty was specially fond, and in his writings and speeches he often used to quote from the works of that wonderful poet. As usual in the case of the heir-apparent, Mozaffar-od-Din received an essentially military education, and became well versed in the art of warfare. His later success—when he became the actual Governor of his province—in the various expeditions that he undertook against frontier and unruly mountain tribes proves this in a small degree. One of these expeditions was undertaken about 1881, against Sheikh Obeidollah, a Kurdish desperado, who, together with his followers, numbering some 80,000 warriors, mainly armed with Martini-Henry rifles, acquired by plundering the battle-fields in the Russo-Turkish War, invaded Persian territory. Mozaffar-od-Din personally took command of the expedition, and the invaders were driven back and dispersed by the Persian regular troops, and their leader saved himself from being captured by taking refuge in Turkish territory, whence he was sent as State prisoner to Taif, where he died. Talking of Mozaffar-od-Din's military abilities, it might be mentioned that he formed no exception to the rest of his compatriots

in his skill as a rider and a marksman. But he excelled in the latter art—so much so that his name had become proverbial, and if it was desired to bestow the highest praise on anyone for his exceptionally skilful handling of the rifle, it used to be said that “he shoots like the Shah.” His Majesty particularly liked to shoot small Persian gold coins of the size of a threepenny-bit, thrown high into the air, while his horse was at full gallop. His skill as a marksman naturally made him a successful hunter, and in this pursuit he was most enthusiastic and indefatigable. Whenever State care permitted, and he was able to take a few days’ rest and holiday, he always went on a hunting expedition, accompanied by a few of his courtiers. To chase after the beautiful slim-legged gazelles, or to arouse the lazy bears from their winter sleep, well pleased Mozaffar-od-Din’s sporting disposition. But he liked nothing so much as to pursue and to bring to bay lions and tigers, and he invariably brought back from these expeditions large trophies, in the shape of heads and skins of these wild animals who had fallen under his unerring marksmanship.

Although Mozaffar-od-Din’s education was essentially military, yet it was his European professors of history, politics, and languages that were particularly pleased with the aptitude and the diligence of their royal pupil, and with his unusually speedy progress in the subjects taught by them. He soon learnt to speak French fluently, and read and wrote it with ease; he therefore studied in that language the best European works on history, and especially on the political history of Europe. It may be remarked, by the way, that His Majesty was ever an ardent student of history, and even as a mere child loved to listen to readings from Persian history, and to hear with rapt attention of the achievements and doings of his glorious predecessors. Whether by force of habit or because of his intense love for history, even in later years, when he had already become ruler of his country, he had

some one who every evening recited to him verses from "Shahnameh," where that great Persian poet Ferdowsi recounts the wonderful exploits of Persia's ancient Kings and warriors. His Majesty's early predilection for history and his thorough knowledge of European politics, supplemented by his journeys to Europe, had, as we shall see, an important influence on the policy of reform and progress which he adopted on ascending the throne.

No sooner had Mozaffar-od-Din's studies terminated when he began to take an active part in the government of his province, and the official sent from Tehran to carry on the government on his behalf, and who had until then been the actual Governor of the district, became now merely a Minister and an assistant to the young Prince. From the very outset the Valiahd—as he was then styled, and which is a title borne by all Crown Princes of Persia—showed that the thorough education and training with which his father had been careful to endow him had not been wasted; and aided by natural intelligence and aptitude for administration, he at once set to his task with an earnestness and zeal that was characteristic of him throughout his life. And he needed all his energy and ability to worthily fulfil the manifold duties, and to solve various intricate administrative questions, which confront the Viceroy of the fairest and the most important province of Persia. That is, in fact, one of the main reasons why the Valiahds of Persia are always appointed as Governors-General of that district, and remain so up to the moment of their accession to the throne. There they live in a regal state: they have their Court, their various Ministers, and their army, and they are held responsible for the good government of the province. To rule over the brave inhabitants of Azerbaijan, with whose courage and past history every one is familiar, requires a truly skilful statesman; and owing to the importance of the province, both on account of its geographical position and the extent of its area, the various administrative and political questions

which continually present themselves are enough to tax the skill and the energy of the most capable Governor. Its people—the Tabreezis, as they are commonly called—are enlightened, brave, and patriotic ; but they are, at the same time, very frank, and do not refrain from criticizing the action of those who govern them, and do not hesitate to protest vigorously against any measures which may be distasteful to them. To be considered a successful ruler of such a people and of such a province—as Mozaffar-od-Din was generally recognized to have been—is no mean compliment to his abilities as a Governor and his experience as an administrator. We might here appropriately remark that another reason why all the heirs-apparent to the Persian throne govern Azerbaijan, until the day of their accession, is that by far the larger portion of the most valiant soldiers of the Persian army are recruited from that district. This being so, it used to be considered prudent that the future Shah should rule the province that supplied the flower of the army, as he was sure to have the army on his side in the event of any opposition or insurrection at the time of his accession. But this, though a wise and perhaps a necessary measure in former days, when, on the death of a Shah, there was fear of a contest for the crown, and when pretenders sought to oust the rightful heir from the throne, it has long since lost its significance, as the happening of such an event is now out of the question.

Mozaffar-od-Din was Viceroy of Azerbaijan for thirty-six years, and during the greater part of that period he ruled the province personally and independently. He won the hearts of the people by his tact and great kindness, and with these two qualities he always managed to maintain perfect order and tranquillity among people who had the reputation of needing a severe and an inexorable ruler. Many were the improvements which Mozaffar-od-Din made in the various departments of his administration. While he was Viceroy many difficult political and administrative questions arose, and he had to undertake several

military expeditions, but we shall content ourselves by the reference we have already made to his expedition against Sheikh Obeidollah. With the sincere love that he always evinced for the advancement of education, he established in Tabreez several colleges, where sciences and European learning could be efficiently acquired. He introduced judicial reforms, with the sanction of the Central Government. Commerce and agriculture received his special attention; foreign trade was encouraged, and the general condition of the province was improved. He kept a strict surveillance over his officials and Sub-Governors; punished cruelty, rewarded justice.

From the summary we have thus given of the character of Mozaffar-od-Din's administration at Azerbaijan, it will be seen that when, in 1896, on the assassination of his father, he was called upon to ascend the throne, he was already an experienced and a tried ruler. He was loath to leave the province, and the people among whom he had lived for nearly twoscore years were very sorry to part with so kind and so just a Prince, though they rejoiced that one by whom they had been governed, and whose good qualities they had been able to appreciate, had become their paramount ruler. They further rejoiced at the fact that Mozaffar-od-Din could leave behind at Azerbaijan a worthy heir and successor in the person of his eldest son, Mohammad Ali Mirza, who at the time was twenty-four years of age, and therefore at once took up the reins of government, and resumed with remarkable ability the good work of his royal father and predecessor. It may be of interest to give here the translation of a rescript issued at the time by Mozaffar-od-Din, addressed to the people of Azerbaijan, apprising them of the appointment of his son as Valiahd and Viceroy of the province. It is impossible not to admire the simple and unaffected style of the rescript, every word of which speaks of the kindness and the solicitude of the Sovereign for his people. It runs as follows:

"The most high God Almighty having entrusted Us with the care of a part of His people by appointing Us their shepherd and keeper, We consider it Our duty to continually endeavour to provide for them the means of happiness and prosperity. With this aim in view, We have appointed as Our Lieutenant Our dear and devoted Son Etezad-os-Saltaneh* for the Province of Azerbaijan, which was Our home, and is always dear to Us. He will treat the people with paternal affection, and in the execution of his duties he will follow the principles which were the guiding spirit of Our thirty-six years' rule in Azerbaijan."

Shah Mozaffar-od-Din's almost first act on ascending the throne was to show that in ruling Persia he meant to adhere to the policy which he pursued in governing its largest province. He at once convinced his people that they and their well-being were the foremost objects of his thought, and with the characteristic kindness and paternal love which he ever evinced towards his subjects, he at once issued orders for the abolition of all taxes and dues on bread and meat, which, as in this country, are the principal food of the people. The law of taxing these articles of food was of ancient foundation, and was a great source of income to the royal treasury. The extent of the sacrifice which the late Shah made may be somewhat realized by the knowledge of the fact that, as far as meat was concerned, the Government had always been entitled to the head, feet, skin, and the entrails of every animal led to the slaughter-house. The result of this royal munificence was almost instantaneous: bread and meat became suddenly cheaper, and caused a great lowering in the price of all other articles, and reports from all parts of Persia bore a striking proof to the truth of one of the principal dogmas of political economy.

Other beneficial acts followed in quick succession: Edicts

* Etezad-os-Saltaneh was the title which the present Shah bore until he became Valiahd.

were issued which were to raise the standard of the efficiency of Government officials, and to encourage and promote those among them who were really capable and deserving. The various departments were reorganized and reformed, especially the Foreign Office, the Ministry of Finance, and the Ministry of Customs. For the reorganization of the latter department the services of Belgian Customs experts were secured, and the administration was entirely reformed. The system of farming the revenue by individuals, which was practised formerly, was done away with in the case of Customs, as in the case of all other departments where it existed, and they were all properly organized and put under efficient control. How far the revenue was increased by these wise means and measures it can easily be surmised. A thorough remoulding of the system of collecting and paying the revenue of the empire was a stupendous task, and one that could not be carried out without much difficulty and opposition. The whole work had therefore to be done with tact and patience. Mozaffar-od-Din, however, succeeded later in his reign to put a full and proper control on the collection and payment of revenues by provincial Governors. A *caisse financière*, as it was termed, was instituted in each province, and the Governor had to pay into this *caisse* the revenue of his district. Special controllers from the Ministry of Finance were sent to each province, both to receive the revenue and to control its collection.

While doing all this the "kind father," as Mozaffar-od-Din used often to be called by his subjects, was not unmindful of the commerce and industry of his realm, and, as he had done while he was Governor-General of Azerbaijan, so now he devoted his serious attention to the improvement of both, and various steps were taken in that direction. But realizing that without good roads and improved means of transport this aim could not be satisfactorily attained, he directed his efforts towards remedying any deficiency that existed in that respect. Many roads

have been and are being constructed, which connect important trade markets and facilitate the import and export of merchandise. A very important one of those was completed a few years ago—the Resht to Tehran road, a distance of about 230 miles. This road connects the Caspian coast with the capital, and is of immense advantage to traders, as well as to travellers. The journey is done in post-chaises, but steps have already been taken to institute a service of Renard train, which already runs along part of the road—viz., from Kazvin to Tehran. In promoting and encouraging industrial enterprises in his empire, Mozaffar-od-Din has shown proofs of remarkable energy. During the short period of ten years that he ruled over his people he succeeded in establishing industrial works of varied kinds and of high importance. A splendid sugar factory was established at Kahrizak, a village near Tehran. The sugar was produced from the beetroot grown in the village itself, and was generally admitted to be excellent. It was sold to the people, who until then depended solely on foreign sugar, at a moderate rate. The writer had the opportunity of visiting this industry, and was agreeably struck with the manner in which the whole thing was managed. The technical employés were Europeans from Belgium, but the rest were Persians. A soap factory was also established, and electricity, which had until then been but little used except as a luxury, came into general use, and its concession was granted to a wealthy Persian merchant with a view of installing electric light throughout the city, so that at the present day most of the houses in Tehran, and even in smaller cities of Persia, are lighted up with electricity.

Many instances exist that prove the high aims of this Sovereign for the welfare and progress of his country. The chief thing that strikes one when reviewing Mozaffar-od-Din's reign is the fact that his constant aim has been to promote the education and the culture of his subjects, and he has fully given effect of this aim. Secondary schools

and colleges established during his reign are numerous. These schools are all organized on modern lines; Persian and Arabic literature, and also sciences and other subjects, including French, English, and Russian languages, are taught. Most of these schools were supported by Mozaffarod-Din personally, and others by the generosity of private individuals, to whom the royal initiative had set an example. These schools were for the poorer classes, whose children are educated free of charge. There are others for well-to-do parents, who have to pay certain fees for the education of their children. In addition, a school for orphans was opened in Tehran, in which poor parentless children are kept, fed, clothed, and educated at the expense of the State. Another interesting educational establishment is what is called the "School of Political Sciences," a sort of *préparatoire* for the members of the Persian Diplomatic Service, and is under the control of the Minister for Foreign Affairs. This school, or rather academy, possesses a good staff of Persian and European professors. A fairly stiff examination, testing the candidate's knowledge of Arabic grammar, Mohamedan law, history, geography, mathematics, and French, has to be passed before he is admitted into the academy. Here the course of study is three years, and during that period the students have to acquire a good knowledge of Persian and universal history, and particularly the political history of Europe. They have, besides, to go through a complete course of Mohamedan and international law and political economy, and to write essays on the same. At the end of each academic year there is a public examination of the students. At this examination the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Minister of Education, and others are present. The successful candidates are admitted into the Diplomatic Service, and either enter the Foreign Office as clerks or are sent as attachés to the Legations abroad. This academy is maintained solely at the expense of the Government, the students paying nothing. To show how far the late monarch had the

advancement of education at heart, we might mention that he had made a point of inspecting from time to time the more important educational establishments of his capital. On the occasion of those royal visits the director had to give a report of what the students were doing, and some of them were examined by the Shah himself in the work they had gone through, and he always encouraged them by words of kindness and counsel. Not contented with providing his people with the means of receiving a modern education in Persia, he encouraged them to acquire European learning abroad, and out of his privy purse he established a fund, from which about 100 students can be educated every year in various European countries. They each must learn a useful profession, and on their return to Persia, they receive a post for which their studies have fitted them. This wise initiative on the part of Mozaffar-od-Din had the desired effect, and set the necessary example; and to-day all those who have the means send their children to Europe to accomplish their education, and to acquire the learning and the ideas of the West. As the result Persia each year receives a supply of educated and highly-enlightened young men, who are devoting their experience and their energy to the work of reform and reorganization, which is now being fast carried out.

Having raised the first and the main foundation of the great policy of reform and progress which it was his cherished aim to accomplish, he next began to encourage newspaper writing, and gave the Press freedom, desiring thereby to advance the views of the people at large, and also to use the press as a means by which his subjects could express their feelings, their pleasures and displeasures, and their criticisms of the Government, and could thus assist him in better fulfilling his task.

Meanwhile it had become necessary for Mozaffar-od-Din, as the new Shah of Persia, to pay official visits to various European monarchs and heads of State, and to make their acquaintance. His health, never very strong, having begun

to fail under the strain of work and anxiety, he was advised by his physicians to undergo a cure at Contrexéville. He therefore decided to make a journey to Europe in the year 1900. His health, though improved, was not all that could be desired, and his physicians, who had begun to feel some anxiety, advised him to undergo a cure every year. Affairs of State, however, would not allow him to listen to the counsel of his medical advisers, and he made only two further journeys to Europe—in 1903 and 1905. During these visits, though rest and freedom from care were prescribed to him, he was indefatigable in going into various questions and matters which were of interest to him for the advancement of his realm; and he was continually going about visiting various institutions in different countries, and closely studying every detail. The writer had the privilege once or twice to accompany His Majesty on such visits. The knowledge which he showed of the details of the working of such institutions and the technical questions he asked used to surprise his guides not a little. The systems of government and the judicial departments of the European countries he saw, chiefly attracted his attention. In the diaries of his travels His Majesty gives full expression to the impression that his visits and studies in Europe had made on him; and in the speeches which from time to time he made to his Ministers on his return from Europe he threw sufficient light on the noble aims and intentions which he had for his country and for his people. It would not be exaggerating to say that Mozaffar-od-Din's desire to grant a Constitution to his people was stimulated by his visits to Europe, and by what he was able to see personally of the condition of the various countries he visited, and of the state of the people and their Governments. It is not a secret that on his return from his first visit to Europe he announced his intention of reorganizing the courts of justice, and of bringing the laws up to date; also of placing the country under a Government, as far as possible similar to the Governments of advanced countries of Europe. With

the aid of his Ministers, he set to work to prepare a Constitution suitable for Persia, so as to grant it to the people as soon as they were found to be ready for it. The vastness and importance of this step is evident, and this was obviously not the work of one day, but it was one of which His Majesty never lost sight, and for the accomplishment of which he constantly strove. He was perfectly alive to the greatness of the task he had set before himself, and to its far-reaching beneficial results, which added to his zeal and ardour to attain his aim, handicapped as he was by failing health and almost constant illness. Though anxious to see so noble and so great a design completed as soon as possible, he was too earnest in his work to rush it through, and knew that the surest way to succeed was to build his edifice on a firm and durable basis. The work of preparing the Constitution was therefore done with patience, with careful consideration of the circumstances of the country and of the people. Advice was sought everywhere, and the views of Persian representatives abroad were carefully ascertained ; hence in August last, when everything was ready, it was granted to the people. The perfect order, ease, and earnestness with which the Persian Parliament is now working is a telling proof of the wisdom and foresight of the Sovereign in preparing for his people a Constitution suitable to them, and of granting it at a time when they were thoroughly ready for it and could appreciate it. The National Council, as this Parliament is called, was opened by Mozaffar-od-Din himself, in the presence of Princes, the Corps Diplomatique, and Ministers of State, on October 7, 1906, and it would not be out of place to give here a translation of the imperial speech delivered on that occasion, as showing the high and noble aims and sentiments of that very enlightened ruler. The following is a literal translation of it :

“ In the name of God the Merciful ! Praise be to God that what We had for years in view has to-day been realized by the help of God the Most High ; and by His aid We

have succeeded to attain Our object. Excellent and auspicious is the day which is the opening day of the National Council—the Council which will strengthen and fortify the relations between the Government and the people; the Council which is the reflector of public thoughts and of the country's needs; the Council which is the guardian of Our justice and of the redress We give in the safeguarding of that which has been entrusted to Us by God. This is the day when the concord and union between the Government and the people is augmented, and the affairs of the State and of the nation are placed on a firm foundation. This is the day when We are confident that the respected leaders of the nation and the well-wishing Ministers of State and the nobles and the merchants and all the loyal subjects of the country will strive to put into force the Laws of the Shar',* the most luminous, and to reorganize the departments of State and carry out necessary reforms, and to bring about everything that will conduce to the security and to the well-being of all the inhabitants of Our native land; and they will have no other object than the welfare of the State and of the nation and the interest of the people and of the country. Of course, you know that now it is for the elected ones to decide and raise a sacred foundation, which should not be shaken or upset by personal considerations or by selfish grudge. It is for them now to fulfil their duties in the manner aimed at by the Government and by the people. It is evident that none of you have been elected but because of the preference and the superiority which you have over others on account of your character and your qualifications. This very fact is a source of assurance to Us and strengthens Our heart. We confidently hope that you will tread this sacred path with the utmost sagacity, foresight and disinterestedness; you will fulfil your duties with the highest loyalty and straightforwardness. Nevertheless, loving Our people as We do Our own children, and considering their good and their

* Islamic law.

evil as Our own, and sharing their joy and their gratification, their sorrow and their grief, it is necessary that We should draw your attention to this point: Until this day the consequences of the deeds of each of you concerned yourselves, and yourselves only; but henceforth thousands of souls who have chosen you, and who expect you to serve your Government and your people with a sincere motive and an upright spirit are concerned. You must therefore act in such a manner as not to become answerable before God and to be ashamed before Us. Do not ever forget this advice, this counsel of Ours, and do not for a moment be unconscious of the great responsibility which you have taken upon yourselves. Know that Most High God is the real Supervisor of our deeds and the Guardian of right and of righteousness. God's hand be with you! Go and carry out the responsibility which you have taken upon yourselves with loyalty and uprightness, and rely upon the grace of the Most High Creator and upon Our favours."

When the National Council was opened, Mozaffar-od-Din's illness had already become very serious, and almost continually he was confined to his palace. Nevertheless, he was actively engaged in his work, and on the opening day of his first Parliament, though very ill, he personally attended the ceremony. From his speech we can measure the extent of his gratification in seeing his life-dream realized. Though unhappily he was not spared to see the progress of his Parliament's work, he had the satisfaction before he died to see it placed on a firm and workable basis. Almost the last act of his reign was to append his signature to the Rules of Procedure, which the National Council had drawn up for itself. Mozaffar-od-Din's work will be resumed by His Imperial Majesty Mohammad Ali Shah, who arrived at Tehran, from his seat of government in Tabreez, in time to see his father and to be at his bedside when he peacefully passed away, on the night of January 8, 1907. The new Sovereign has already won the

affection and the admiration of his subjects by his high character, activity and intelligence. His thorough education and the experience which he has acquired, both as the Viceroy of Azerbaijan and as Regent while his lamented father was in Europe, render him eminently fit to preserve the precious heritage left to him by Mozaffar-od-Din, and to guide the destiny of the people whose hopes are to-day centred in him.

SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE ON "INDIA AND IMPERIAL PREFERENCE."*

BY TOM NEILL.

THE subjects of the King-Emperor first, after them the foreigner who treats us fairly—that is the foundation-stone on which is to be constructed the fiscal policy which has been sketched in outline in classic diction by Mr. Balfour, and in the language of the business man by Mr. Chamberlain. The policy has been unanimously adopted, as its chief constructive work, by one of the great political parties in the Motherland, and is cordially supported by the large preponderance of the citizens of the British Empire who inhabit the King-Emperor's dominions beyond the seas. In the Titanic international struggle, not only for industrial and commercial supremacy, but even for industrial and commercial existence, which yearly is increasing in intensity, it must be obvious that the larger, more populous, and more firmly welded together an empire, or aggregation of States, is for defensive and—when by dire necessity driven to it—for offensive purposes, the greater the likelihood of its emerging victoriously from the contest. There are, at least, three outstanding conditions precedent for securing flawless cohesion to an aggregation of States, viz., community of race, community of sentiment, and community of interest. Among the four principal industrial and commercial nations of the world—namely, Great Britain, the United States, France, and Germany—not one has complete community of race. The British Empire has among her citizens types of every, or nearly every, race of mankind; the United States has her black problem, France has her Algerian Arabs, and Germany her natives

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of Prussian Poland. In community of sentiment there is left something to be desired by all four. It is only when we come to community of interest that the British Empire compares most unfavourably with her three great rivals. At present there is very little community of interest between the various States composing the British Empire. This is owing almost entirely to the fiscal policy erroneously called Free Trade, which the Mother Country adopted in 1846. The authors of the policy of 1846, mostly short-sighted Little Englanders, avowed that one of their objects in proposing it was that we should thereby get rid of the Colonies by compelling them "to sever the political thread by which we are as communities connected." Luckily their scheme failed. Our fellow-citizens in the King-Emperor's dominions beyond the seas were more loyal to the Empire, were possessed of more far-seeing statesmanship, than those who by their exuberant verbosity of sophistical rhetoric had gained the ears of the electors in the Mother Country. Most sensible men will forgive an unpremeditated insult, but if it be deliberately repeated, then all hope of a continuance of personal friendship is at an end. The Mother Country foolishly neglected her parental duty in 1846. Our fellow-citizens beyond the seas forgave her. In spite of the unmotherly treatment they received, they have for sixty years done their part as dutiful and affectionate sons and daughters. Having proved their loyalty, both in "the stricken field" and in the marketplace, they now ask to be treated in their mother's house even only just a little better than the strangers who, a few years ago, were gloating over the impending downfall of the British Empire, of which they expected to be the heirs. Will the Motherland once more spurn the advances of her children, and drive them into the arms of the foreigner? That is the all-important question, on the answer to which the fate of the British Empire is hanging in the balance.

The question of Tariff Reform, embracing as it does Imperial Preference, is a vast and complex one. It has

many ramifications and many side issues, all of which demand such careful consideration and elucidation that the opinions of experts in each particular branch of the subject are of the utmost value. Mr. Balfour, in his speech in the House of Commons, February 20, 1907, said that the problem of how the British Empire, which consists of so many different States, is to increase in strength, numbers, and at the same time in unity, is "the greatest problem which any empire has had to face—a problem which is absolutely new in the history of the world, on which we can learn nothing from history, and for which no parallel exists in the progress of civilization." Recognizing, then, the vastness, the complexity, the difficulty, and the immense issue at stake, it is of transcendent importance that there should not be room even for the shadow of a doubt as to the accuracy of the solution given to the problem. On the accurate solution of the problem depends the weal or woe of the great British Empire, built up stone by stone by the genius, the skill, the perspicacity, the indomitable will, the valour, the self-sacrifice, aye, and by the freely-shed blood of our ancestors. It is incumbent, then—nay, it is the bounden duty of all men of light and leading with knowledge gained by long personal experience in the various parts of our widely-reaching Empire to contribute all they can to the sum-total of the facts and opinions necessary to help us to arrive at the correct solution of the problem.

Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E., is an acknowledged, a justly acknowledged, authority on Indian affairs. His long residence in the Dependency, his knowledge gained by personal contact with many of the subtlest native intellects, and his occupancy, with distinction, of the Chair of Economics in the Presidency College of the University of Calcutta, entitle him to a prominent position on the list of experts on Indian affairs, and everything that comes from his pen demands the serious consideration of all those who have at heart the best interests of our great Dependency.

Ere this appears in print there will have been issued from the press a book from the pen of Sir Roper Lethbridge, entitled "*India and Imperial Preference*," published by Messrs. Longmans, Green and Co., London, of which I have been favoured with an advance copy. Such subjects as the political value of Imperial Preference to India; Imperial Preference our only defence against foreign protection; the "*Swadeshi*" movement; effects of Imperial Preference on the Indian export trade; the economic relation of Imperial Preference to Indian patriotism; the economic advantages likely to accrue to India from Imperial Preference; how Imperial Preference will promote the moral and material welfare of India, etc., are all dealt with in a lucid and interesting way, and by the hand of an expert. These are all important points in the great problem, and deserve the careful consideration of all who, divesting themselves of the trammels and prejudices of party politics in the Mother Country, and with an open mind wish to get down to the bed-rock of facts, and thus be in a position to give an intelligent answer to the question how "*the greatest problem which any Empire has had to face*" is to be solved.

In his introductory chapter Sir Roper enunciates several propositions, for which in the succeeding chapters he gives his proof. These propositions shortly are :

1. India as the largest producer of food and raw material, and one of the largest consumers of manufactures, must occupy a chief place in the British Commercial Federation.
2. India occupies a position of unassailable commercial strength.
3. Her British trade is of infinite importance to her financial and industrial stability.
4. The production and requirements of the Mother Country and India are complementary.
5. For India alone of all the units of the Empire, Imperial Preference will mean Free Trade within the Empire.

6. India at present possessing a small general tariff, Imperial Preference could be put into operation very easily, and without any fiscal disturbance.

7. India is at present only bound to us by the golden link of the Crown, but all the different peoples who go to make up her vast population, being loyal to their Emperor, desire in addition the closer union which the bond of commerce alone can give.

8. India is awakening to the knowledge of her inherent capabilities. The "Swadeshi" movement is the first indication of a desire in the native mind for some protection for her industries. Imperial Preference would give India that protection without injury to British industry.

Sir Roper deals (chap. ii., § 2) with the "mandate" against Imperial Preference which the present Government allege they received at the polls. Everyone who gave any attention to the subject knows that the last General Election was won mainly by the "cry" of Chinese "slavery," and by what is known as the "swing of the pendulum." A candidate during the election, speaking on Imperial Preference, or some other branch of Tariff Reform, was interrupted by an opponent in the audience calling out, "Us don't want to know about Tariff Reform. Us wants to know about Chinese slavery." But even if Tariff Reform or Imperial Preference had been the issue, the General Election was by no means decisive. Eliminating the votes cast for the Irish Nationalist party, and for the twenty-nine members of the Independent Labour party, the members of which cannot accurately be classified as Free Traders, the total so-called "mandate against Tariff Reform" majority, out of nearly 5,000,000 electors, was only about 220,000, or about 4 per cent. It is one of the anomalies of the electoral system in the Mother Country that a majority of 4 per cent. of the electors could secure a majority of over 40 per cent. of the seats in the House of Commons. If there were two mandates more than any others that Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman got, they were

to prevent "slavery" in the British Dominions, and not to grant Home Rule to Ireland. In fulfilment of these two "mandates" there are now, after fifteen months of the present Government, about as many so-called "Chinese slaves" as ever in South Africa, and there are likely to be now that the Botha Government is in office in the Transvaal. Besides, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's Government have sanctioned a form of slavery for the natives of the New Hebrides which would have gladdened the heart of Legree himself. If a duplicate of the Home Rule Bills introduced by Mr. Gladstone is not to be brought in this Session, we know that a Bill is to be introduced which will satisfy the Irish Nationalists for this year, because they have been told it is to lead up to the "larger policy."

The now celebrated letters of February 14, 1906, showed "the man in the street," what students of the speeches of Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain knew all along, that the two right honourable gentlemen were in perfect accord fiscally. The policy of Imperial Preference, which is included in the policy of one of the great political parties, Sir Roper Lethbridge tells us, would be "immensely popular with the Unionist party in India, and with all that is best and most loyal among our Indian-born fellow-subjects." As to the mutual benefits, let me quote Sir Roper's own words (chap. ii., § 6) :

"It has often been remarked that, with the adoption of Imperial Preference, the United Kingdom and India alone will constitute the greatest, richest, and most populous fiscal unit and Free Trade area that the world has ever seen; far more important in all these aspects than the United States of America, which now form the biggest area possessing internal Free Trade and fiscal unity. This consideration ought to be sufficient to fire the imagination of every economist who has learnt the advantages of real as distinguished from one-sided Free Trade; for we can supply all each other's wants, and thereby retain within the fiscal unit all the benefit and profits of 'the double

bargain,' on which the far-sighted policy of the immortal Alexander Hamilton founded the prosperity of the United States. And at the same time the mutual preference will be sufficient to ensure so much 'protection' for the industries both of England and of India as may be compatible with absolute commercial union and absolute mutual friendliness."

Sir Roper points out that every Viceroy, and every Secretary of State for India, including the late Lord Salisbury and Lord George Hamilton, have warned us of the political danger of the sempiternal fiscal war between Britain and India, chiefly over the import duties on cotton goods going into India, and says the animosities arising from the Indian duties would disappear with Imperial preference, which would include the abolition of the Customs barrier which at present divides the Mother Country from her great Dependency. It would be interesting to know on what principle those who call themselves Free Traders oppose a policy which is to demolish a tariff wall, and establish Free Trade—as far as Free Trade can be established—between Britain and India.

The third chapter is a valuable one. It supplies something much more forcible than "the quip modest" to one of the glaring fallacies with which opponents of Tariff Reform, both so-called Free Traders and Unionist Free Fooders, are never tired of misleading their audiences. These champions of the present fiscal policy—*e.g.*, Mr. Lloyd-George—continually assert that Britain is holding her own in the markets of the world. It is, of course, perfectly true that British exports are still increasing. It will be a bad day for the Mother Country—indeed, for the whole Empire—when they begin to decrease. The supporters of the present fiscal policy never tell their audiences that in most of the leading markets of the world the proportion of British manufactures to the total sold on these markets is much less than it was thirty or twenty years ago. In other words, the bulk of the increase in the

world's consumption of manufactures is not being supplied by Great Britain, the erstwhile world's workshop, but by those who fifty or sixty years ago were her best customers, but since their adoption of Protection have now become her keenest rivals. Sir Roper gives incontrovertible proof that in India, at all events, we are by no means holding our own. Quoting from the "Statement of the Moral and Material Progress of India" (Blue Book, No. 249), he gives the official figures, exhibited by the aid of index numbers, showing the aggregate import trade into India, with the amount from each country separately, and similar figures for her export trade. These figures prove conclusively that the exports from Germany, Belgium, France, and the United States to India have increased at an alarmingly—at least, alarmingly to every one not blinded by political party prejudice, like the Unionist Free Fooders and the portion of the Radical Party who call themselves Free Traders—greater ratio than the British exports to India, and similarly with regard to the exports from India to the countries named. The question which naturally arises, but which the champions of our present fiscal policy never attempt to tackle, is, if it be true that a 10 per cent. import duty on manufactures and a 2s. duty on corn would prevent Great Britain from competing in the markets of the world, why is it that Germany, with a 25 per cent. duty on imported manufactures, and the United States with a 70 per cent. duty, and both with a 7s. or 8s. duty on corn, can send even one shilling's worth of manufactured goods to any market in the world in competition with Great Britain; and, *a fortiori*, why are they ousting British manufactures from the bazaars of India? The answer, of course, is, although those who call themselves Free Traders do not seem able to grasp it, that quantity of production is a much greater factor in cheap production than absence of import duty. The German and the American by their fiscal policy can work their plant to its fullest capacity, and thus are able to reduce their cost per unit of production.

On the other hand the British manufacturer's production is curtailed by his markets, both home, colonial, and in the neutral countries, being frequently glutted by dumped goods, and thus his cost per unit of production is increased. The effect, as far as India is concerned, cannot be better described than in Sir Roper's own words, where he says (chap. iii., § 4):

"I have observed above that this disastrous tendency has been somewhat concealed and masked by the very exceptional conditions under which our vast export of cotton goods to India—a trade firmly established long before the adoption of Protection by our rivals—is still carried on.

"It is quite true that the trade in cotton piece-goods is, apparently, for the present a striking exception to the general rule, and still for the time preserves its supremacy, encouraging the unscientific observer to hope that it will always be able to defy the competition of protected rivals. I do not remember ever to have seen an explanation of this anomaly from the point of view of strict economics, though, indeed, it is not far to seek. The simple reason is that the Indian market for these goods is so vast as to be practically limitless. Its power of absorption—at a price—is simply boundless. Consequently, for this cotton-goods market, and for this market only, British manufacturers, equally with their German and other protected rivals, are able to work on the largest scale and at the highest pressure that may be physically possible. Hence, in this cotton-goods market, and in this market only, British manufacturers are only slightly handicapped by the Protection enjoyed by the Germans and others in their own home-markets, for those home-markets are dwarfed into comparative insignificance by the immensity of the Indian market for cotton goods. But this is not the case with the Indian market for other British exports: for shawls and hosiery, for hardware and cutlery, for steel and iron, and the rest of them. In all these, British trade with India is notoriously being ousted, gradually but surely, in favour of

its protected rivals ; and the turn of cotton, too, will come sooner or later if we persist in our suicidal Cobdenite folly. The considerations I have here noted leave the markets of India still open to Lancashire and Scotland, until the cotton industries of Germany, America, and our other protected rivals are enabled, by their artificial expansion, to use the same methods that have been so successfully used in other industries. But after that the deluge ! If we are to avert that awful calamity, it can only be by the timely adoption of Imperial Preference ; but, in the words I have already quoted from Professor Fuchs, 'it must be soon, or it will be for ever too late !' "

The fourth chapter is highly interesting. Sir Roper tells us that our so-called Free Trade principles are abhorrent to the native Indian minds. They loathe and detest them, because, among other reasons, as the native Indian statesmen and the editors of native journals have stated openly, they regard what is called Free Trade as little short of canting hypocrisy, used as a cloak for the Mother Country to sell more cotton goods. Lord George Hamilton and Sir Henry Fowler, both ex-Secretaries of State for India, have admitted that Indian public opinion is "intensely Protectionist." Sir Roper shows that this intensely Protectionist feeling, coupled with the fact that the native Indian, rightly or wrongly, believes that what is called Free Trade is being imposed on him, not for his own benefit, but for the greater gain of Lancashire, are factors in the growth of "*Swadeshi*," which he translates as "my country's own products for me." Recently we saw the Chinese effectively employing a social boycott against American goods, because of the unfair treatment to which Chinamen were subjected, or alleged to be subjected, in the United States. If "*Swadeshi*," or what may be called a social boycott of Lancashire goods by the native Indians, were to become even partially the vogue in India, the eyes of the Lancashire cotton men might be opened to their "Free Trade" folly more speedily than they at present

contemplate. They would discover what a blunder it is to try to dragoon a vast and populous country into accepting a fiscal creed which might be advantageous if the whole world accepted it, but which is, and must be, a hopeless failure when the civilized nations are all highly Protectionist. There is no oculist who can restore sight to the blind so effectively and rapidly as the *argumentum ad crumenam*. Sir Roper on this point says (chap. iv., § 2):

"But its adoption—i.e., of the Swadeshi boycott—even partially and for the time, ought to teach us the dangers that attend our imposing on India a fiscal system, disapproved by Indian public opinion, that puts British and Colonial goods on a par with foreign goods, and that forces Indian custom-houses to put British goods in the same category with foreign goods."

The cultured Indian gentleman may understand, however little he may appreciate, why the people of the Mother Country, in pursuance of the Exeter Hall theories about loving the foreigner better than one's own fellow-citizens, which is the ground principle of latter-day Cobdenism, although not of Cobden himself, insist on being considered foreigners in India, but the untutored Indian cannot grasp the subtilty. The Oriental mind is so constituted that it admires and respects the display of authority. If Britain were to put the manufactures of the German, the Frenchman, and the American on a less advantageous footing on entering India than British goods, instead of "Swadeshi" meaning including the goods of the Mother Country in the native social boycott, it would mean the inclusion of these goods in the category of "my country's own products," to the great advantage of Lancashire. Sir Roper aptly sums up the question in the last three paragraphs of the fourth chapter, when he says (§ 6):

"I well remember, when I was in India in 1894, the great Anti-Free Trade meeting in the town-hall of Calcutta that was presided over by the Hon. Maharaja Sir Jotindro Mohan Tagore, then (as now) the acknowledged head of

the Indian community. The Maharaja commenced his speech by declaring that the occasion was unique in the history of India, for 'hardly do I remember another instance in which such intensity and unanimity of feeling has prevailed among all the different sections of the community.'

"It is, indeed, unnecessary to labour this point, for it is admitted that India is, as Lord George Hamilton said, 'intensely Protectionist.' And the practical question that obviously arises is simply this: How can we, in face of such a strong and general sentiment, maintain the trade between Britain and India that we know to be so important to both countries? The Free Importers reply, 'By dragooning Indian opinion into submission to our notions of "Free Trade," which are despised and laughed at by all Indian-born statesmen and economists.' The advocates of Imperial Preference, on the other hand, reply, 'Let us frankly offer an honourable and sufficient *quid pro quo*—British Preference for Indian products in return for Indian Preference for British manufactures—and then Indian national self-respect will join with Indian loyalty to yield a hearty acquiescence.'

"Can there be any reasonable doubt as to which of these two rival policies is the wiser and more politic, as well as the more generous and honourable?"

Sir Roper having shown that Imperial Preference would weld the great Dependency more firmly to the Mother Country, would defend the industry and commerce of the whole British Empire from the grossly unfair attacks of the Protectionist foreigner, and would prevent "Swadeshi" coming to mean boycotting British manufactures, proceeds to deal at great length with the question of India's export trade. He shows how it would benefit India financially to send her raw products direct to the Mother Country, rather than to (say) Germany, there to be worked up into manufactured goods, and thence to the United Kingdom, and how the working classes in the homeland would enormously

benefit thereby. The exports from India to the United Kingdom of tea, coffee, wheat, tobacco, raw cotton, hides, indigo, etc., are gone into in great detail. Space alone forbids them being examined. The reader will find a vast amount of useful information on each subject dealt with in a masterly way.

In support of his contention that Imperial Preference would certainly benefit both India and the Mother Country, the case of Canada is quoted. Since she gave a Preference to the "old country," the statistics given by Sir Roper show there has been a great mutual benefit. Before the Canadian Preference, British exports to that colony gradually dwindled; but after the Preference they began to increase by leaps and bounds, until in 1904 they were double what they were previously to the Preference being granted. Evidently by an oversight Sir Roper omits to give the exports to Canada in 1905. They were £11,909,244, which further strengthens his contention.

One of the pet arguments of the so-called Free Traders is that we must not take any action fiscally, otherwise the foreigner will retaliate. In his seventh chapter Sir Roper tears to tatters that un-British argument of the craven-hearted Free Traders and Free Fooders. He shows that India exports almost entirely raw material. The statesmen of the leading Protectionist countries, who are not by any means fools, would not do anything whereby their raw material would be prohibited from entering their countries, or to enhance its price. Besides, the United Kingdom, indeed, the British Empire is by far the largest purchaser of the manufactured goods of the principal protected countries, who are the only countries that would have any interest in retaliating. If the Mother Country were to take action regarding the imports of manufactures from any of the principal protected countries, who might unreasonably object to our doing on a small scale what they do wholesale, and if India and the Colonies were to take action regarding the export of raw material to the objecting foreign country,

we should immediately have another exhibition of the gentle art of climbing down gracefully. Lord Lansdowne's statesmanlike action, when Germany blusteringly threatened all sorts of pains and penalties on the Mother Country when Canada gave us Preference, is still fresh in the public memory. But how can the principal protected countries, even if they had the power to injure us more than themselves, which they have not, who impose and increase their import duties at their own sweet will, according as they think it will suit their interest, and quite irrespective of the injury it does to us, object, with the faintest shadow of reason or justice, to Great Britain and her Colonies and Dependencies entering into any fiscal arrangements which they think will best promote the prosperity of the British Empire?

The total export trade of India amounts, Sir Roper tells us, to 1,326 million rupees. Of that amount, 626 million rupees' worth goes to the countries composing the British Empire, and 293 million rupees' worth to China, Japan, and the Straits Settlements. This leaves, he says, exports to the value of 426 million rupees, which go to the foreign Protectionist markets of Europe and America. Here Sir Roper hardly states his contention strongly enough. The foreign Protectionist countries of Europe and America are, according to the Board of Trade Fiscal Blue-Book, first series, p. 13, the United States, France, Germany, Holland, Belgium, Russia, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Spain, and Portugal. Doubtless India exports to the "neutral markets" in Europe, and the Southern Continent of America, such as Turkey, Greece, Brazil, Peru, Chili, etc. Egypt and Siam are also "neutral markets." So that the value of the Indian exports to these "neutral markets" has to be deducted from the 626 million rupees, and only the balance credited to "the foreign Protectionist markets of Europe and America." This further strengthens Sir Roper's contention that even if the principal protected countries did, against their own interest, and in disregard

of their consistency, object to the British Empire doing in a very small way what they have done in a very large one, the loss would not fall on India or any component part of the British Empire, but on the countries who took umbrage, if there were any foolish enough to do so.

The eighth and ninth chapters deal with "The Economic Relation of Imperial Preference to Indian Patriotism" and with "The Positive Economic Advantages that will Accrue to India from Imperial Preference." It is impossible in the space at my disposal to do justice to Sir Roper's lengthy but most interesting economic argument. It would suffer from being summarized. It requires to be read in its entirety, and deserves careful consideration. A study of it will repay the reader, even although he may not agree with all Sir Roper's conclusions. While not attempting even to give a résumé, there are two or three passages which should be quoted.

"If Britain forces India to treat her as a foreigner in fiscal matters, she cannot be surprised if India carries out that rule to the disagreeable extent of socially boycotting British and foreign goods with equal impartiality.

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"The far greater elasticity of the trade between India and foreign countries is simply due to the immense advantage possessed by the latter in their protected home markets, and to the disabilities inflicted on us by our false Free Trade.

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"The Bengali notion of 'Swadeshi'—I know that it is not shared by many of the most highly educated Bengali gentlemen—involves all the evils of Protection and none of its advantages. There is not the remotest possibility of anything of the kind ever being adopted in the Indian fiscal systems; consequently, the instinct of self-protection, which always in the long run influences the majority of mankind, will always prevent men (except a few well-meaning but

misguided martyrs) from giving two annas for a commodity which they can purchase as readily for one anna.

"On the other hand, Imperial Swadeshi, though apparently not so rigorously protective in its effects, will be really more efficient in that direction. And it is, of course, absolutely undeniable that this Imperial Swadeshi, which is identical with Imperial Preference, will tend to bring Britons and Indians more into sympathetic union, whilst the 'boycott' can only engender sentiments of mutual hostility and dislike. And this latter alternative will be looked upon by every true Indian patriot with horror and aversion.

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"And when the competition is with the finished products of mills and factories that have the initial advantage of a protected market at home, the attempt becomes utterly hopeless and actually ruinous. For instance, a German manufacturer already possesses, all to himself, and quite free from any except local competition, a lucrative market within the German Zollverein, sufficient to assure to him in any case a fair return on his actual outlay; and he can, therefore, well afford to 'dump' on the defenceless Indian market vast supplies of commodities on which the price has been cut down to a figure that would easily ruin any Indian manufacturer. For the Indian manufacturer must sell the whole of his stock at these prices, which are to the protected manufacturer simply the price of 'surplusage.'

"Of course, the manufacturers of the United Kingdom do not possess this advantage, which is conferred by a protected home market; and that is why the import into India of almost all the products of the protected manufactures of Germany and other protected countries is progressing at a far more rapid rate than that of the unprotected manufactures of Great Britain.

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"But what shall we say to Indian Swadeshi? to the imposition of duties at Indian ports on all imported goods,

both those from the United Kingdom and the Colonies as well as those from foreign countries? That is the system we enjoy at present, except that it is tempered, in the name of Free Trade, by the imposition of a countervailing excise duty on Indian cotton cloth, perhaps the most vexatious and irritating tax that human ingenuity has ever invented."

In his tenth chapter Sir Roper deals exhaustively with the point that Imperial Preference will promote the moral and material welfare of India. He shows that India being a debtor nation, and her creditor being substantially the Mother Country, the Dependency has to pay the interest on her debt by the export of food and raw material. Instead of sending the raw material direct to the United Kingdom, and thus giving great advantage to the home manufacturer, which would largely increase the demand for British labour, a large and increasing quantity is sent to the Continental nations, who work it up into manufactured goods, and send them to this country to the serious injury of British industry. To select an example, jute may be mentioned. At one time nearly all the jute exported from India went to London or Dundee, giving employment and wages to thousands and thousands of workpeople and profits to their employers. Indeed, Dundee was known as Juteopolis, owing to its flourishing staple industry. Now all that is changed. Although the world's consumption of jute manufactures has increased by leaps and bounds, India's exports of raw jute to the United Kingdom are at best stationary. The imports into the Mother Country of foreign manufactured jute goods have, however, increased since 1897—the first year the Board of Trade classified them separately—by about 30 per cent., amounting in value in 1905 to over two millions sterling, while the exports of British jute manufactures during the last ten or fifteen years have decreased about 20 per cent.

Sir Roper at considerable length also deals with the "dynamics" of India's wheat production, with the possi-

bilities of a largely-increased acreage put under the plough and irrigation, provided the 2s. per quarter Preference be adopted by the Mother Country. He says (chap. x., § 7) :

"In chap. v., § 7, I pointed out that, in the wheat-growing industry of the Punjab and the Upper Provinces, Imperial Preference, with only an import duty of 2s. per quarter imposed in British ports on foreign wheat, would mean not only a vast extension of the industry in Upper India, with contingent advantages for other parts of the country, but also the provision of such an insurance against Indian famines as no other measure can offer. To Sir Edward Buck and Sir Charles Elliott belongs the credit of having been the first to indicate the enormous advantages that would accrue to the whole of India by such a famine insurance as this. There are many millions of acres of good wheat-growing land in the Punjab and the Upper Provinces lying idle—cultivable, but uncultivated—that only await the irrigation canal and the plough (see Appendix E and F). The moment that the stimulus was applied to this industry of an assured preference of 2s. a quarter in the boundless markets of the United Kingdom we should see a rapid extension of irrigation, and large tracts of this cultivable land brought under the plough, giving employment to whole armies of cultivators at present landless in the congested districts of over-population. Now, the wheat crop grown under irrigation is not subject, even in the dry zone, to the droughts that play havoc with our other crops and that cause our Indian famines."

Sir Roper gives in an appendix valuable statistics of the area cultivated and cultivable in the various provinces of India. In the Punjab and the provinces of Agra and Oudh there are something like thirty millions of acres of good wheat land, which are at present uncultivated. If even one-third of these came under the plough through the stimulus of a 2s. Preference, and they yielded, say, twenty bushels to the acre, they would yield annually a quantity practically equal to the total consumption of the Mother Country. Besides,

it would give employment to enormous numbers of natives, and thus some of the districts in India at present congested would be relieved of a heavy burden.

Sir Roper also shows the importance of Imperial Preference to the cultivation of sugar, tobacco, indigo, tea, and coffee in India, with which articles he deals *seriatim*. There is one point which requires special notice, because it is an object-lesson on the value of having a tariff with which bargains can be made with the foreign Protectionist countries for a reduction of their tariff walls, and it shows that Lord Curzon in his generally brilliant administration of Indian affairs had no sympathy with the Cobdenite dogma that import duties should be imposed for revenue purposes only. Let me quote the 10th, 11th, and 12th subsections of chap. x.:

"10. Nearly the same remarks, *mutatis mutandis*, will apply to the coffee industry, which our stupid fiscal system permits to be a mere pawn or counter in the fiscal battles between the Protectionist countries of Europe and the coffee-producing States of Brazil and Central America. Lord Curzon—under the wise pressure, as it would seem, of Sir Edward Law—at a very critical moment in the history of this industry, showed himself to be a vigorous, full-blooded Tariff Reformer, to the immense advantage of India; and the story of the Indian negotiations with France on that historical occasion, as told in the Despatch on Preferential Tariffs, so entirely bears out all my contentions that I venture to quote it in full, from Blue Book Cd. 1931, pp. 9, 10. Lord Curzon wrote:

"It has been brought home to us by recent events that, even without any hostile action on our part, it is possible for India to become the object of attack by foreign nations. In 1900 the action of France in proposing to subject imports from India to the higher or General Tariff, in place of that formerly applicable to them, was not due to anything we had done, but, so far as we can ascertain, was merely a move in the impending conflict between that country and Brazil.

. . . We were enabled, by the grant of a small tariff concession in favour of vinegar and copperas . . . to escape the almost penal enhancement to which our coffee and pepper would otherwise have been subject. . . . Negotiation was rendered possible by the fact that India possesses an import tariff.'

"11. And Sir Edward Law, the Finance Minister, in his Minute appended to the same Despatch, wrote as follows :

"I may refer to the arrangement concluded with the French Government in February of the current year (1903). We were threatened with a Tariff rate on the importation of Indian coffee into France, which, in view of Brazilian competition, would probably have killed our trade with France in the article. The French Government proposed that if we would reduce by 50 per cent. the rates of duties on vinegar and copperas imported into India from France, they would permit the importation of Indian coffee, pepper, and tea under their minimum instead of their General Tariff rates. This proposal affected Indian exports to France of an annual average value of nearly £285,000, and on this value would, if the maximum tariff had been imposed, have resulted in a payment of additional duties on Indian goods imported into France, amounting to £317,600; but it is evident that the imposition of the maximum tariff would have so checked imports of Indian coffee that the French Exchequer would have gained little or nothing. The total value of the imports of French goods (vinegar and copperas) into India affected by the arrangement was only about £12,300, and the loss to Indian revenues by the reduction of duty conceded was £300. It is needless to dwell on the extraordinary advantage to Indian interests secured in this instance by an arrangement on Fair Trade principles.'

"12. Those Fair Trade negotiations saved for us the great coffee industry of Southern India; and it seems a thousand pities that the Government of India and Indian commercial men in general have not turned to better account the obvious teaching of those negotiations with France. What was

done there, in one of the most important markets for coffee in the world, might be bettered elsewhere by the same sensible procedure; and what can be done for coffee could also be done for all our other Indian products."

Lord Curzon in making this commercial treaty with France displayed wise statesmanship. As Lord Beaconsfield—then Mr. Disraeli—said in his well-known speech in the House of Commons, February 17, 1863, "Whatever the value or the truth of abstract principles, it is in their application—in the wise and necessary application of those principles that is involved the prosperity of nations." But Lord Curzon also gave proof that he is diametrically opposed to the particular meaning of the term "Free Trade" as that is expounded by the Cobden Club and latter-day Cobdenites generally. He refused to be bound down by dogmas that may have been wise sixty years ago, when we were the workshop of the world, and when trusts and dumping and other ingenious devices used by modern Protectionist States to destroy British industry were unknown, and indeed unthought of. In concluding the commercial treaty between India and France, he was carrying into practice the Tariff Reform principles which Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain advocate. Lord Curzon's fiscal policy was based on the wise commercial principles enunciated by Lord Beaconsfield in the speech I have just quoted, when he said: "Now, sir, if there can be anything opposed to the abstract principles of free exchange upon which unrestricted competition depends, it is, it must be, those regulations or conventions by which reciprocal advantages are sought in the commercial exchange of nations. You are departing from those principles which you take every opportunity of claiming as your own; you are departing from the ground of pure science and inexorable logic the moment you attempt to negotiate the terms upon which commercial exchange shall take place. Now, in the case of the French treaty, we came forward with certain advantages which we proposed to exchange for others. That I thought myself at the time, generally speaking, to

be a most wise policy. I thought, and always have thought, that anything which favoured commercial exchange between England and France was a policy which each country ought to favour; but the scheme was entirely contrary to those abstract principles of free exchange which you have always upheld."

The eleventh chapter deals with the recognition of India as a Sovereign State. In it Sir Roper, while he is doubtless voicing the thoughts of those in the Homeland, is somewhat in advance of Colonial thought. His argument, while it may, and possibly will, commend itself to the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, will, I fear, although I may be mistaken, not receive unanimous assent in such self-governing Colonies as, say, Australia and New Zealand.

In his last chapter Sir Roper sums up his general conclusions, and in an appendix he gives useful details of the preferential schemes of New Zealand, South Africa, and Canada, together with tables giving statistics of the Indian imports from, and exports to, all the other commercial countries of the world for each year from 1875 to 1905—also of the area in each province in India cultivated and cultivable and under irrigation.

"India and Imperial Preference" has been published at a most opportune time, in view of the approaching Conference. It should be studied by everyone who is to take part in its deliberations, as well as by all those who are interested in the constitution of that great Imperial Commercial Federation of the future that may grow out of those deliberations. It is a masterly reply to many of the fallacies of Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Lloyd-George, and other prominent men, who think that India would not benefit by Imperial Preference and that Indian opinion is hostile to the fiscal policy of Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain. "India and Imperial Preference" is an able and valuable contribution to the literature of the subject. It ought to be, and doubtless will be, widely read, both in the Mother Country and in India, as well as in the Colonies.

INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS.

By J. D. ANDERSON (LATE I.C.S.).

I CANNOT claim much originality for the paper* I am going to write to you. It is, in fact, an attempt to comment on two very able, interesting, and suggestive papers which appeared in this *Review*,† the first by the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, C.I.E., on "Self-Government for India," the other by Mr. Theodore Morison, on "The Association of Indians with the Government of India." I am quite aware that it shows some temerity on the part of one who never was, and never aspired to be, anything but a district officer to criticize the views of one of the most able members of the Viceroy's Council, and of the gentleman who has just been selected to fill a place in the Council of the Secretary of State for India. But since, in the last resort, all administrative changes and reforms are carried out by district officers, I thought it might interest you to hear the comments of one who has been a practical administrator, on however small a scale. I shall confine my remarks to the two provinces of which I have had personal experience, partly because I know little of India outside Bengal and Assam, and do not, therefore, presume to speak of the subcontinent at large; and partly because I have a very firm conviction that all reforms in the direction of Indian autonomy must at first take the form of decentralization. In any discussions of the popularization of the administration, there are obviously certain provinces which must be left out for the present. Obviously, it would be waste of time to talk of self-government at present for, say, Upper Burmah or Beluchistan. Even in the two Bengals, to which I shall confine my attention, there are tracts which will necessarily lie outside the scope of this paper. I ask, then, to consider me as an average district officer criticizing the ideas

* For discussion on this paper, see report of the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

† See our issue for October, 1906, and January, 1907.

of two eminent political theorists from a practical point of view. I may, perhaps, be allowed to say that I speak not only as a district officer with over twenty years of experience, but as an Anglo-Indian. I was born in Bengal, I spent my childhood there, and my family have been connected with Bengal for well over a hundred years. I have the most kindly and cordial sympathy for the political aspirations of men whom I regard in a very real sense as my fellow-countrymen. I heartily desire their political progress. I have long left India for good, and have no personal interest in Indian problems. At a time when future advance must be purely experimental, it seems to me that the opinions of anyone who has a practical knowledge of the Indian administrative system may, if they are candidly expressed, have some interest and value.

It is admitted, I assume, that the time has come when further steps must be taken to fulfil the promises made in the Charter Act of 1833 and Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858. It is commonly urged that the duty of fulfilling these promises has become more imperious in consequence of the advance in political education, which has been one of the results of the training afforded by British rule. The circumstances are not what they were in 1833 and in 1858. But we must not forget that the change in these circumstances has rendered reform not only more necessary, but infinitely more difficult. It is not as if we could simply hand over India to Hindus, or restore the glories of the Moghal Empire. We have to deal with India *as it is*, with all manner of vested interests, with the fact that there is now a large European population, and a vast investment of European capital. The example of Mysore shows that these considerations need not be a bar in the way of the Indianization of the administration. But these facts have to be considered. Both Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Morison rightly stipulate that we must proceed cautiously and tentatively. I will give two practical examples from Bengal to show the need of caution. Concessions in the direction of popularization can rarely be

withdrawn when they are once made. Our administration has hitherto been, to all intents, an Oriental one. It is practically the Moghal system worked according to Western ideas of efficiency and humanity. In Bengal we made two conspicuous trials of Western methods. In 1793 Lord Cornwallis, by his famous Permanent Settlement, strove to convert the Bengal "publicani," the farmers of land revenue, into landlords on the English model. It was from the first not a successful attempt, but it was not till 1885 that the Bengal Tenancy Act became law, and then only because dangerous agrarian riots in Pabna and elsewhere showed an absolute need that Government should intervene between landlord and tenant. Again, the British system of trial by jury in criminal cases was introduced into selected districts. It was also, as it happens (and I believe by *mistake*), introduced into districts which were not ripe for so democratic a form of trial. But the concession once made could not be withdrawn. Retreat was felt to be impossible, or at least impolitic, and consequently certain backward districts enjoyed the privilege (if privilege it was under the circumstances) of trial by jury when it was denied to adjacent districts whose population was more advanced. We cannot go back, and therefore it behoves us to walk warily.

At first I was tempted to take as the text of this paper the fact that both Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Morison had chosen as their ideal that India should be assimilated to the British colonies. It would be tempting to argue that the colonies are cuttings from the British constitutional tree, transplanted to a congenial soil, and fitted to begin a separate existence at once, whereas the Indian polity is a huge tropical growth, which has to be trimmed and pruned to a new form of development. But I remembered that speakers so talented and experienced as Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Morison were not likely to have made the comparison without some good reason. Besides, on examining their practical suggestions, I found that they might have been made equally well by publicists who had never heard of the British colonies. I have thought it best, therefore, to

discuss only their practical suggestions, and to ask myself how they would probably be regarded by working administrators, by the district officers, who fill much the same place in India as is filled by the *préfets* and *sous-préfets* in France. I do not claim to speak on behalf of district officers. Possibly there are some of your readers who will not agree with my criticisms and suggestions. But I speak as a district officer whose experience has ranged from political duties on a savage frontier in war-time to the charge of a highly-civilized district containing the terminus of a great railway and a port which is served by a line of steamers running to London. I know that some of the suggestions I am about to make are being considered by Sir Arundel Arundel's committee. But there can be no harm in considering them separately and independently here, at a safe distance from the excitement and heat of Indian controversy.

What is the object we have all at heart? We wish—do we not?—to give all legitimate and safe satisfaction to the aspirations of Indians to take a larger share in the government of their country. We do not desire to deprive India immediately and entirely of the services of British officials, but to *associate* very much larger numbers of Indians than it has hitherto been possible to associate with them in the business of administration. Now, there are two ways in which this can be done, and, though they can be simultaneously adopted, it is important that they should be discussed separately, since the difficulties in each case are quite different. The first is the employment of Indians in the public service; the second is the extension of the powers and numbers of the legislative councils. In each the difficulties to be faced vary in different parts of the subcontinent, and each problem will be most easily solved provincially. I will, therefore, not presume to say anything about the administration of India as a whole.

I take first the great question of the larger employment of natives of India in the public services. It seems

to me that this question should be considered under two separate heads. There are (1) the services, admission to which is gained by the ordinary education which is given to all well-educated men, and (2) the services whose duties require a highly technical training, such as cannot at present be given in India. Under the latter head would at present come doctors, engineers, forest officers, geologists, and other such professional services. As to these last, I will make no other suggestion than this, that *some* professional training should be given to aspirants in India, and that those who are sufficiently promising should be sent to complete their education at the public expense in Europe. We might thus in time get the nucleus of a staff of men who would be competent to teach in India. But this is a technical and imperial question, and one for experts. What I wish to discuss is the recruiting of the ordinary administrative staff—the judges, magistrates, secretaries, and police officers. With regard to these, Mr. Gokhale's only suggestion is the old one of simultaneous examinations in England and India. That solution has often been discussed, and there is no necessity in repeating the well-worn arguments for and against. I shall have to make a suggestion of my own presently, which I am vain enough to hope may be regarded by Mr. Gokhale and those who think with him as a reasonable compromise. Mr. Morison's suggestion is that one small province should be entirely handed over to Indian officers. It seems to me that there are many fatal objections to such a plan. It is, no doubt, a sound instinct which leads Mr. Morison to see that any change must be provincial and local to begin with. But, in the first place, his plan involves *dissociation*, and not *association*. It involves the invidious choice of a small and easy province, when what is required is precisely to train Indians to face, understand, and overcome *all* the difficulties of modern administration, social as well as political. It would drain away all the best Indians from their own provinces, and would discourage those that remain. It seems to me

essential that Indian gentlemen should be encouraged, and even compelled, to serve in their *own* provinces, if we are to have any real self-government. If they should rise hereafter to take a part in the government of India, they should be the spokesmen of their own countries, just as Mr. Gokhale himself is not merely the representative of educated Indians, but chiefly and primarily of the Mahratta Brahmins. We want to utilize the advantages their birth and their knowledge of their fellow-countrymen give them. I think Indians should serve in their own provinces, and among men whose language they have spoken from birth. I need not labour a point which seems to me tolerably obvious.

You have now a right to ask what suggestions I have to make. What are the facts of the case? On the one hand, simultaneous examinations are opposed on the ground that it is a good thing that young Indians should see something of European life before they take part in such a cosmopolitan administration as ours has come to be. I confess I very much doubt whether it is a good thing for young lads to leave their Indian homes and to be plunged into the temptations and distractions of great European cities. Even at Oxford and Cambridge they are inclined to herd together and to shrink from the society of English undergraduates. It seems to me that they would gain very much more advantage were they to visit Europe on furlough with their wives when they have arrived at a maturer age and have had some experience of life. I may, perhaps, venture to remind you of the charming and distinguished wife of an Indian Deputy Commissioner whose words appeared in this *Review** in defence of her English sisters in India. You will all agree, I am sure, that to travel with a wife like that is a "liberal education." Whether young lads of from twenty to twenty-four get any good that balances the harm they learn in Europe is a question which is occupying the minds of much more influential persons than myself. I only ask you to remember this as one of the factors of the problem.

* See our issue for October, 1906, p. 366.

Again, I gather that the present recruiting of English members of the Civil Service is not altogether satisfactory. We get admirably educated young men from the University, good classical scholars, mathematicians, and so forth. But they have to undergo a second training in the somewhat dull and humdrum routine of administration in India, and that at the hands of district officers who are day by day more harassed and preoccupied, and at an age when elementary learning (and a good deal of their work is necessarily elementary) is neither easy nor interesting. I constantly hear from old colleagues in India that the young civilians of the present day do not take kindly to administrative training, and waste an inordinately long time in acquiring the professional and linguistic knowledge which is required of them. In some cases very able and gifted men never become really good officers. Routine work is nowadays very heavy, and young officers are necessarily employed almost exclusively in routine, the importance and meaning of which is hidden from them. Most of the work is done in English (in Bengal, at least), and there is small temptation for men to face the drudgery of becoming good linguists. Yet, I conceive, there never was a time when a knowledge of the local languages was more necessary than now. Not to know them is to give the many bilingual critics of the administration an undue advantage.

The difficulty resembles one which has been felt here in training officers for the army and navy. For the navy we now have Osborne, and I understand that the War Office has seriously considered the opening of a similar college for the army. Well, Indian administration is every bit as technical and difficult a business as soldiering or running a warship. I know that the College of Fort William was a failure, although it turned out many distinguished pupils. Its social side was bad, as we all know, and the young men who passed through it acquired dissipated and expensive habits in Calcutta. Yet I venture, not without hesitation, to suggest a college to which both native and English

candidates for the superior service should be admitted. I would place it in the hills, and for the two Bengals at Shillong. Shillong differs from most hill-stations in being placed on a plateau, where riding, polo, and other manly games are possible. I would run the college on the lines of one of the chief's colleges—a technical boarding-school for young gentlemen of both Indian and European races. I would hope that there would thus be developed, from the first, a hearty professional *esprit de corps*. I would admit to it candidates for the judicial, magisterial, and police services. I would insist on a thorough training in law (Indian, Roman, and English), political economy, and the local languages. Thus I would insist on Hindus passing in Persian and Urdu, and Mussalmans should learn Sanscrit and at least one modern Hindu language. It may be worth considering whether the college might not also be made the passage to practising at the local bar. Shillong is a small station in a healthy climate, and is free from the dangers which attend students in big towns like Calcutta and Dacca or even Patna and Chittagong. The college would be under the personal supervision of the Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam, and he would, no doubt, exert himself to see that the pupils had all the advantages of the local society, which would be agreeably swelled by the large staff of professors that would be necessary, and by their wives and families.

There remains the difficult and important question of how the candidates should be selected. I think the Indian candidates should be chosen in India, but not by purely literary competition. I would have some such system as is in force at Osborne—nomination, followed in turn by selection by a competent board, followed again by a tolerably stiff literary examination. The European candidates I would select as at present, but would send them for two years to the college as probationers. They would, no doubt, have to go out to India at an earlier age than at present. There will, of course, be many practical difficulties

in the way of this experiment. The most important of these will be to settle the proportion of Europeans to Indians. My own (temporary) suggestion is that, for a beginning, a fixed number of Indians (if such a number is available) should be selected, and the remaining vacancies should be put up to competition in England. I would not forbid Indians to present themselves for the competitive examination. But I imagine few would do so if they knew that there was a way into the public service in their native country. I make my suggestion in the roughest and most tentative form and without insisting upon details.

I attach great importance to a thorough training in the theory of Indian administration. As things are, men pick up their knowledge by "rule of thumb," and administrative routine is now so heavy that we have all a tendency to ignore the principles which underlie successful administration. Moreover, a sound *social* training is very requisite. If a man is successfully to occupy a high position in the cosmopolitan Indian society of to-day, he must be a man of the world, capable of entertaining guests of all races and creeds, and of taking a part in the amusements and the intellectual life of a great capital. There are already many Indians, especially among the chiefs and princes, who can do this. We want to train young Indians of other classes up to this social and intellectual level. It is a difficult problem, and I am aware that many objections can be raised against my solution of it. I merely suggest it as a subject for discussion.

Before I leave the subject of recruiting for the services, I think I ought to say that, in Bengal at least, every post in the service, except that of Lieutenant-Governor, is open to, and has actually been held by, a native of India. There are, therefore, no legal or artificial barriers to be removed. All that is required is a quicker and ampler flow of suitable Indian recruits.

I now come to what is in some ways an easier problem — the extension of representative institutions.

Mr. Gokhale has suggested that certain seats in the Viceroy's Legislative Council shall be made elective, and that Indians shall be appointed to the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and the Governors of Madras and Bombay. I do not consider myself competent to deal with such high questions as these. All that I know by practical experience of the Viceroy's Council is that I had to administer the laws enacted by it. I can only say that Mr. Morison's objections to Mr. Gokhale's proposals seemed to me, on the face of them, unanswerable. I will, as before, confine myself to the two provinces of which I have had personal experience. I think that the local councils should be greatly enlarged in numbers on lines which I shall indicate presently ; but I think that there should also be an enlargement of powers and authority. I doubt whether the Viceroy's Legislative Council should continue to exist, except, perhaps, as an advisory assemblage on the Mysore model, and in order to discuss matters of general Indian interest, such as the annual Budget. There is no doubt that the Legislative Council has done great and admirable work, and the Indian codes are a possession which Great Britain and the Colonies may well envy us. But the time for passing into law great codes for all India seems to me to have gone by. Already we have local enactments passed by the Supreme Council which might more easily have been dealt with by local councils, such, for instance, as the Assam Immigration Act, which consists of two perfectly separate parts, one relating to Assam itself, and one to the recruiting districts. More than that, there are Acts which are practically inoperative because they have been framed for too wide an area. These are of two kinds : One, to take a familiar instance, is represented by the law which regulates religious endowments. In most provinces, if not everywhere, the Act is a dead letter, and Government is unwilling to revise it without a very clear "mandate" (to use the phrase of the day) from the communities concerned. The need of enforcing it varies from province to province.

Where the need is keenly felt, a local Act, amending its provisions might easily be passed. Another instance of a different kind is the Age of Consent Act, which was passed into law owing to the patriotic and benevolent efforts of my friend Mr. Behramji Malabari. His Bill met with fierce opposition in some provinces, and in consequence the draft was so watered down that the resulting law is practically inoperative. In Bengal and in Eastern Bengal it will probably be impossible to amend and strengthen this Act for many years to come, but in Western India, and still more in such countries as Assam proper and Burmah, where infant marriages are not practised, it would be possible to assimilate the law to European standards of what is legal and becoming in such matters. I would reserve to the Government of India the power of initiating legislation and drafting Bills. But their Bills should, I think, be submitted to the local legislatures (simultaneously or otherwise), and passed as local laws, with such local modifications as may be necessary. I would not allow local legislatures to modify the existing Acts of the Government of India except with the permission of that Government.

I strongly recommend the enlargement of the local councils. I would make them more representative. I think each district should have its member. Such huge districts as Mymensing should have two or three. Every town with a population of over 20,000 should have at least one member. Personally, I would suggest that there should be a member for each 40,000 of urban inhabitants. This would give for Calcutta and its suburbs, with Howrah, something like twenty-five or thirty members, Patna would have five, Dacca two; but most towns in the two Bengals would have only one. In special cases the number might be raised irrespectively of population. For instance, the town of Narainganj might have a member in view of its commercial importance, though its population is less than 20,000. Chittagong, as the port of Eastern Bengal and the terminus of the Assam-Bengal Railway, might have two

members. But I need not go into difficult details here. I calculate that my proposals would give, for Bengal proper, something like 125 or 130 members. The council for Eastern Bengal and Assam would be much smaller, and would have not more than fifty members. That would correspond roughly to the difference in population, and especially in urban population. (The population of Bengal proper is 54,000,000, and that of Eastern Bengal and Assam 30,000,000.) How should these members be chosen? In the great towns where municipal elections are in force, they should, I think, be elected; elsewhere they should, perhaps, be nominated, for the present, by the district officer from among candidates, and should finally be selected by the Commissioner of the division, to whom the names of all the candidates should be submitted. Efforts should be made to ensure that the relations of district officers and the member or members of their districts should be as intimate and cordial as possible. District officers should be allowed to correspond freely with the members for their districts, and their relations should be roughly those of *préfet* and *député* in France. I do not at present recommend election in the *mofussil*. I have had some practical experience of elections for district boards in Assam. The result there was to produce a class of professional politicians such as are not unknown in some Western countries. Our object should be to get the very best men available and willing to serve into the provincial parliament. I would not make service on district boards or municipalities a necessary stepping-stone to nomination. There are many highly educated and respectable men who, for one reason or another, do not care to undertake local responsibilities; but the district and municipal committees might be consulted. In matters of district administration the magistrate should regard the members as his colleagues (and *vice versa*), and should take their advice. But I have not the presumption to say that I have thought out all possible details as to nomination and election.

Should there be a Second House? I think there should, but that it should merely be an Advisory Assemblage on the Mysore model. It should consist of noblemen and great landholders, to be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor on the nomination of Commissioners of Divisions. They should be appointed for life, but should, of course, be allowed to resign their seats if they wished to do so. All legislation passed by the Lower House should be submitted to the Upper before being finally sanctioned by Government. The Executive Government should either approve, veto, or send Bills back to the Lower House with its advice and that of the Upper House.

I do not think that the Lieutenant-Governor should himself be a member of either House. The President should be elected by a majority of the Assembly, or he might, at the request of such a majority, be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor.

How should the Executive Government be represented in the Lower House? I think there should be *ex-officio* members, including the secretaries and under-secretaries to Government, the legal remembrancer, the commissioner and magistrate at headquarters, and, as extraordinary members, any other commissioners or magistrates who may be interested, and who may be experts, in any particular piece of legislation.

There would, of course, be no parties in such a House at first, and all legislation would, I hope, be passed without any show of party feeling. I would not at first allow any private Bills. But private members might be allowed to submit proposals for legislation to the secretaries concerned, who would use their discretion in submitting them to the Lieutenant-Governor. I imagine that such proposals would not be common at first at all events.

There remains the important and very difficult question of the representation of minorities. This in Bengal and Assam is a very important matter. One of many reasons why I disliked and dreaded the political effects of the

agitation against the partition of Bengal was that it was run on undisguisedly Hindu lines. The cry of "Bande mataram," which it took as its motto, was borrowed from a very clever and interesting novel called "Ananda Math," which I strongly recommend all who are interested in Indian political movements to read carefully. A translation, under the title of "The Abbey of Bliss," has recently been published by Mr. Naresh Chandra Sen-Gupta, and can be bought for 2 rupees from Babu Padmini Mohan Neogi, 12, Dharamtolla Street, Calcutta. A careful and unprejudiced perusal of that work will show why so many Mussalmans resented and opposed the agitation and all its works. This novel was written by Rai Bankim Chandra Chatturji Bahadur, whose name is probably familiar to you as that of the greatest indigenous novelist of India. It is written from the point of view of a patriotic Hindu, who hoped that a knowledge of Western arts, literature, and science would enable the Hindus to attain their old supremacy, and, after getting rid of their European teachers, to subjugate the Mahomedans. Judging by their public utterances, some Hindu "extremists" in Bengal still cherish these impossible and suicidal views. It is obvious that the administration must remain one in which all communities and sects shall have, as now, equal rights and fair treatment. The concessions I advocate could not, of course, be made if the spirit shown by the Hindu agitators were again to manifest itself. But it was fostered by unnecessary and partizan gatherings. I feel sure that it would die away (it is already dying away) in an arena where free discussion is allowed.

There is the question of what should be done with such tracts as the Lushai, Garo, Naga, North Cachar, and Khasia Hills. I think that for the present they should simply be excluded from the jurisdiction of the Legislative Assembly. Perhaps the Khasia Hills, as containing the summer headquarters of the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam, should have a member. But the Khasis are

a race so totally distinct from the other inhabitants of the province in origin, language, institutions, and religion, that they had, perhaps, better remain under direct executive rule.

In conclusion, I would like to say a few words about the other demands made by Mr. Gokhale, regarded from the point of view of Bengal and Eastern Bengal and Assam.

1. Mr. Gokhale urges that district administration should be "decentralized," and that district officers should have advisory councils to help them. There is much in this suggestion that is very attractive to an old district officer, especially as the last five years of my official life were spent in the interesting district of Chittagong, which, as readers of Sir Henry Cotton's admirable "Revenue History of Chittagong" know, is one which differs widely in ethnology, language, laws, and customs from all other Indian districts. But district autonomy is a big question, and perhaps I have already overtaxed your patience with suggestions which, coming from a retired district officer, may seem novel. I have already suggested that the district magistrate should work in concert and consultation with the member or members for his district and the town or towns it contains. I think that would be a sufficient reform for the present.

2. Mr. Gokhale made some suggestions, very brief and tentative ones, as to the improvement of municipal and local administration. The difficulty there is want of funds. I think *mofussil* district boards and municipalities do all that is possible with the trifling sums at their disposal. My district board at Chittagong was an admirable one as a consultative body, and I do not believe that the small funds we had at our disposal could have been more efficiently or economically spent.

3. Mr. Gokhale had something to say as to military expenditure. That is emphatically a matter for experts. But, from a Bengal officer's point of view, I may, perhaps, be allowed to say that Bengal and Assam were once covered with military cantonments. So late as 1857 almost

every district had its regiment or wing of a regiment. These have all disappeared. In Assam, only fifteen years ago, we had three local regiments, crack regiments of Gurkhas. These have been removed, and the garrison of the long and once troubled frontier of Assam is now manned by only three wings of Indian regiments and by sundry battalions of military police. As to what force is required for the defence of the North-Western frontier, 1,500 miles away, I do not think any Bengali or Bengal officer is a competent judge. That, I conceive, is a matter for which the Government of India is responsible to Parliament. I have my opinions on the subject, of course, but I do not think I have any right to inflict them on you.

I might say much as to the executive matters which should be discussed by the local assemblies as advisory bodies, such as excise, education, communications, hospitals, and so forth. They might, perhaps, discuss the economical questions which lie behind what we now call the *swadeshi* movement. We might, perhaps, do more than has yet been done to encourage and foster local industries, such as the cultivation of tea, which supports over 100,000 labourers, and brings much money into tracts which were, some fifty years ago, virgin forest. But I have taken up quite enough of your space, and have, I hope, provided sufficient material for a useful discussion. I have tried not to be too positive and dogmatic. I do not say that all my suggestions are necessarily practicable or useful. I make them very diffidently and tentatively, and only because it seems to me that at the present time the freest discussion can do no harm, and may do good. I hope I have at least shown that a quite commonplace, conservative, and undistinguished official is not averse from administrative and political changes when changes seem necessary and possible. And I firmly believe that that is the mental attitude of most Indian officials towards the difficult problems which lie ahead of the Indian administration.

INDIA AND THE NEW FISCAL SCHEME.*

BY S. M. MITRA.

I DO not intend to enter into the discussion whether Free Trade is good, or Protection is better. I am not going to wrangle over such phrases as Free Trade and Fair Trade, or Protection and Retaliation. My subject is limited to the question whether the Home Government would be justified in attempting to make a change in their fiscal policy without consulting the interests of India. Is it fair that the Home authorities should forget the interests of the voiceless 300,000,000 of their loyal subjects in trying to further the supposed interests of only 11,000,000 people belonging to the self-governing colonies, though they may be their kith and kin? The 300,000,000 in India are not of savage tribes, but, as Lord Curzon said in his Guildhall speech in July, 1904, "of races with traditions and civilizations much older than that of England, with a history not inferior to England in dignity or romance." We all know that British commercial policy is founded on the principle of Free Trade. Great Britain introduced Free Trade into India, and therefore our Indian trade had to be adjusted with regard to the Free Trade policy of Great Britain.

A few years ago the Right Honourable Mr. Joseph Chamberlain startled the British public by suggesting that, with a view to make better friends with the self-governing colonies of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, the British fiscal policy should be altered so as to give a preference to the exports to Great Britain from those self-governing colonies, as against those from Germany, France, and other foreign countries. In other words, he proposed that foreign goods should pay a heavier duty than goods from the self-governing colonies. In June, 1902, a Conference was held in

* For discussion on this paper see report of the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

London between Mr. Joseph Chamberlain and the Prime Ministers of those self-governing colonies. The objective of this Conference was said to be "the political and commercial relations of the Empire." Though India represents in population three-fourths of the Empire, yet India was not invited to take part in the Conference which was to settle "the commercial relations of the Empire." In the fiscal controversy the position of India has hardly received any attention, though it is of supreme importance to take India into consideration in discussing such an important Imperial measure. This, I believe, is the first meeting in the United Kingdom to discuss the position of India in the fiscal scheme. Unlike the self-governing colonies, India does not say, "Daughter am I in my mother's house, but mistress in my own." India is not a colony clinging to the parent stem only till it reaches maturity and is capable of separate growth, but is like one of those dependent roots of the mighty banyan-tree, which, as it grows and develops, adds to the strength and widens out the circumference of the parent tree. In other words, India is irrevocably bound up with great Britain. India is her civic, as well as economic, asset. India's martial races serve in the Indian Army, her citizens pay their share of the cost of the Empire. They were soldiers of the Indian Army who recently, when India herself was distracted and weighed down by famine and plague, saved the colony of Natal from being overrun by Boers at the beginning of the South African campaign, rescued the Legations at Peking, and recovered Somaliland from the Mulla. But, as Lord Curzon observed in his Guildhall speech already mentioned, in the happiness of England's insular detachment, or in the pride of racial expansion, the average Englishman forgets that the greatest constituents of the Empire in scale and in importance lie, neither in these islands nor in the colonies, but in the Asiatic dependency. Not only in population does India represent three-fourths of the Empire, but she purchases nearly one-third of the total cotton goods pro-

duced by Lancashire. She federates with England on England's terms. While Great Britain receives no contribution in aid of Imperial Defence from Canada, and very little from other self-governing colonies, India pays over £100,000 per annum for the British Navy, and pays her share of the military expenditure of an Imperial character. India is very useful to the Empire in various ways. During the recent troubles in Africa and China, India supplied 21,000,000 rounds of ammunition, and 114,000 projectiles and shells, 11,000 tents, 11,000 sets of saddlery, 315,000 helmets, 169,000 blankets, 290,000 pairs of boots, 42,000 tons of fodder and rations, and 940,000 garments of various descriptions, in addition to 11,600 horses, 6,700 mules and ponies, and 2,700 bullocks. Last, though not least, in 1902 India undertook to raise for the Colonial Office five native regiments for service in the Asiatic colonies or possessions of Great Britain. Thus the union of Great Britain with India is so intimate that their relations with one another must necessarily leave their marks on both countries. India, therefore, cannot be overlooked as a factor in the solution of the fiscal problem. In consideration of the part played by India in the Imperial system, and the services rendered by India in time of England's trouble, it is only natural for India to expect England to hold the scales even between her colonies and her great dependency.

Indians, the majority of them, are no doubt poor individually, but collectively their importance as a constituent element of the British Empire can hardly be disregarded. Though politically India, as a dependency, occupies an inferior position to the self-governing colonies, yet from an economic point of view Great Britain cannot make a change in her fiscal policy without watching its effects, however indirect, upon India. Economically, India cannot be considered a negligible quantity, when the value of Great Britain's export to India is remembered. In 1903 it amounted to £37,359,016, including the value of stores shipped for the Indian Government (*vide* Annual Statement

of the Trade of the United Kingdom, 1905, Cd. 3022, p. 368), which is actually more than her exports to the self-governing colonies of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand *put together*. In that year Great Britain exported, in value—

To Canada	...	...	...	£11,112,577
To Australia (including Tasmania)	...	...	...	16,144,438
To New Zealand	...	...	...	6,361,390
Total				£33,618,405

Every year Great Britain is gaining more in her exports to India than in her exports to the self-governing colonies. Let us take the last three years :

	1903	1904	1905	Increase.
	£	£	£	£
To Canada ...	11,112,577	10,624,221	11,909,244	796,667
To Australia (including Tasmania)	16,144,438	17,336,470	16,991,009	846,571
To New Zealand ...	6,361,390	6,315,090	6,425,793	64,403
Total ...				£1,707,641
To India (including the value of stores for the Indian Government) ...	37,359,016	43,821,615	47,373,677	10,014,661

These figures, which are taken from the latest Blue book already referred to, clearly show that, while Great Britain's exports to India in the last three years have increased by no less than £10,014,661, her exports to the three important self-governing colonies *put together* have increased by only £1,707,641; or, in other words, Great Britain's export to India in the last three years has increased about six times her *combined* exports to the self-governing colonies of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. And, what is more important, Great Britain's trade with India, as the Blue book figures conclusively prove, unlike that with some of the important colonies, has expanded steadily, continuously, and satisfactorily. In the British Empire, India, therefore, offers the best market for British goods.

Moreover, the figures already quoted leave no room for

doubt that India is dowered with immeasurable possibilities for the future expansion of Great Britain's trade. Besides, unless the teeming millions in India had implicit faith in the pure and lofty motives of Great Britain, and were thoroughly convinced that she continued to safeguard their interests, the 76,000 British troops garrisoned in India—a tiny speck of white foam upon a dark and thunderous ocean—would be utterly inadequate to keep India tranquil. If by any act or omission Great Britain unwittingly shakes the faith of her Indian subjects in her *bona fides* she would irretrievably damage the stupendous and stately edifice of the Indian Empire which British statesmanship has taken generations to build up. The Right Hon. Mr. Morley, in his last Indian Budget speech, in July, 1906, said: "India holds one of the three or four master keys of the strength of Great Britain. . . . Of all the subjects which engage our attention—for example, in this sessions, education, taxation, foreign relations, the army, the fleet, North Africa and South Africa—not one of them exceeds in moment and importance to this country the wisdom or unwisdom of the policy that is *pursued in India*." British policy, whether pursued *in India* or *towards India*, at home or in the colonies, must be far-sighted, statesmanlike, and impartial. As Mr. Winston Churchill pointed out in his speech at Manchester on February 19, 1904, "the condition of India is of vast importance to Lancashire. That her markets should be free and her people prosperous and contented is absolutely vital to Lancashire trade." The poverty of the Indian peasant, largely due to centuries of practical anarchy, is a stern fact which has to be recognised. The prosperity of India does not depend upon her productiveness alone. In a great measure it depends upon the relation of her productivity to the consuming markets in the Continent. This fact should be borne in mind. Mr. Chamberlain's fiscal scheme is avowedly aimed at the consolidation of the British Empire. The Empire consists of about 400,000,000 people, out of which number the

300,000,000 in India are, unlike the people of Canada, Australia, or New Zealand, not connected with Great Britain by ties of blood, or of speech, or of religious or social affinity. It is therefore most desirable that the fiscal tie between Great Britain and India should be most effective as the bond of Empire. Economic unity is essential to the unity of defence. Mutual interests constitute the primary factors which bind individuals as well as nations. Ninety-five per cent. of the people in India are quite illiterate. Therefore politics do not, and cannot, enter into the ordinary life of the teeming millions of India; but commercial changes sooner or later touch the poorest Indian peasant, and are therefore a constant element of possible approach or divergence between British and Indian interests.

In Lord George Hamilton's telegram of August 7, 1903, the attention of the Government of India was directed to the resolution passed at the Conference of the Colonial Prime Ministers in 1902, in favour of preferential tariffs as between different members of the British Empire. Lord Curzon considered the subject from the point of view of Indian interests, and the dispatch of the Government of India, dated October 22, 1903 (Cd. 1931-1904), said, "It is more to the interests of India to leave matters as they are than to embark on a new fiscal policy," etc. But if India in her own interests does not desire to participate in the Preferential Tariff scheme, can she remain quite aloof? Can she avoid being drawn into it? Would not the Preferential Tariff scheme affect her, even if she avoided direct participation in it?

The permanent debt of India on which interest is payable in England is about £214,000,000 (*vide* Mr. Morley's Budget speech, July, 1906). Her net obligations per annum are about £16,000,000 (*vide* Lord Curzon's dispatch, No. 324, dated October 22, 1903). The major part of this great charge, as has been so ably pointed out by Lord Curzon, is payable in a currency different from that in which her revenues are collected. The only means consistent

with India's power of discharging this obligation lies in the preservation of an equivalent excess of exports from India over imports into India. Therefore India has to stimulate her exports in every way she can. With great difficulty Lord Curzon succeeded in making the Indian exchange steady. The stability of Indian finance now commands public confidence, and Indian rupee securities are now rising in relative value in the London market, and there is the nucleus of a reserve of gold. Now, if, owing to a change in Great Britain's fiscal policy, the balance of trade in India's favour should dwindle, her exchange will suffer, and the value of the rupee will again go down. Such a catastrophe to India would inevitably react on Great Britain, in consequence of the intimate relations of the two countries. It is therefore that the Conservative leader, the Right Honourable Mr. Balfour, said in his speech at the Scottish Conservative Club in October, 1904, that the best way to solve the fiscal question "is to have a free Conference with the self-governing colonies *and India*, which will determine whether an arrangement be possible or not." Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, the author of the Preferential Tariff scheme, in his letter to me dated March 23, 1906 (which was published in the *Times* of March 27, 1906), himself admitted the truth of this remark, for he said, "In reference to the possible position of India, if a Conference on the subject of Tariff Reform is held, the views of India, as expressed by her representatives, ought, in his opinion, to have the same weight as if India were a self-governing colony."

To properly understand the position of India in the fiscal controversy, I must refer to the trade between Germany and India, which has during the last decade experienced a marked development; the total value of the annual imports from India to Germany having increased about 50 per cent., while the total value of the annual exports from Germany to India has increased about 100 per cent. (*vide* German Trade with India, Cd. 2682-2648). Germany now ranks third in importance amongst

the various countries of the world, both in the value of the import and of the export trade of India. The total value of the imports to Germany from India in 1904 amounted to £14,745,000, and the total value of exports from Germany to India was £4,155,000. Germany takes direct from India annually about one-fifth of the aggregate Indian cotton crop. She also imports in addition Indian cotton via Great Britain. In 1904 Germany imported one-fifth of the total Indian raw jute exports, one-sixth of the total quantity of seeds of all kinds, one-tenth of the total quantity of rice, and one-tenth of the total quantity of manganese exported from India. Besides these, she imports from India large quantities of pepper, wax, oilcake, sandal-wood, black lead, tea, etc. The fortunes of India's imports from Great Britain are indissolubly united with those of India's exports. India is able to pay for imports from Great Britain by her exports to the Continent. India exports to foreign countries far more than she imports from them. Thus, she, by her exports to foreign countries, obtains a credit balance of annually about £14,000,000, which becomes available towards the payment of what are called the annual home charges. It is the exchange of India's commerce by this triangular route that enables her to pay the annual interest due to the British holder of India stock. The Empire, big as it is, is not big enough to consume all that India already produces of some commodities. In her trade relations with Germany, India is the gainer, as the figures given above clearly show. India's solvency to a great extent depends on the fact that Indian exports, to a value exceeding £38,000,000, and approximating to one-half of the entire volume of India's export trade, are admitted free of duty into the consuming markets. India is an exporter almost entirely of food grains and raw materials. Foreign countries no doubt require raw materials for their manufacturing industries. But, as Lord Curzon pointed out so ably in his dispatch already referred to, India does by no means enjoy an effective monopoly in

food grains and raw materials. Her success in foreign markets is more due to the cheapness of her raw materials than to their quality or kind. The connection of Germany and other foreign countries with the trade of India is an important factor in the proper solution of the new fiscal scheme. When Great Britain puts a tariff on German goods it is probable that Germany, through her tariff, will wreak vengeance on India, in order to bring pressure to bear on Great Britain. Russia enhanced her already exorbitant duty on Indian tea as an answer to the passing of the Sugar Convention Bill in the Imperial Parliament. Russian duty on Indian tea is simply enormous, amounting to nearly 275 per cent. *ad valorem*. But, as Sir Edward Grey, on March 22, 1906, pointed out in the House of Commons, the extra duty "which the Russian Government have imposed on Indian tea is by way of retaliation for the prohibition of Russian sugar under the Sugar Convention." The subject was again discussed in the House of Commons on April 10, 1906, when, in answer to Sir Seymour King's question, Sir Edward Grey was unable to state why Russia retaliated upon India, which was not a party to the Sugar Convention, and not upon the United Kingdom, which was a party to that Convention. Russia did not retaliate in any way against any of the other nations which were parties to the Sugar Convention. Poor India, being voiceless, was singled out for vicarious punishment for Great Britain's action! A tariff discriminating against Russian petroleum may force Russia to lower her duty on Indian tea. But we know from experience that a tariff war in the long-run ruins both the parties. Russia's tariff war with Germany, which lasted from August, 1893, to March, 1894, taught both countries a lesson not to be easily forgotten. Trade between the two countries reached the lowest point it had touched for some years. The termination of hostilities by an agreement resulted in a renewal of growth of their mutual trade. The trade of the two countries increased both absolutely and in proportion to that with other

countries. The exports of Russian food-stuffs to Germany and of German manufactures to Russia increased about 200 per cent. A tariff war never pays. India has probably lost more by Russia's retaliation on her tea than the West Indian sugar industry has gained. It would be interesting to calculate what the net result of the Sugar Convention is—loss or gain to the Empire taken as a whole. As Mr. Winston Churchill observed in the House of Commons on July 29, 1903, in his speech on the Brussels Sugar Convention Bill, "every country ought to be governed from some central point of view where all classes and all interests are proportionately represented." Is it sound statesmanship to introduce a measure which, however indirectly, takes out from the pockets of one class of British subjects in order to fill the pockets of another class of British subjects? The Sugar Convention has not benefited the West Indies effectually, but has made India suffer substantially. Poor India was apparently sacrificed in the supposed—not real—interest of the West Indies, with which Great Britain's trade in 1905 amounted to only £1,967,165, as against £47,373,677 with India!

That any change in the fiscal policy of India is undesirable was held not only by Lord Curzon, but by two Secretaries of State on both sides of politics, Sir Henry Fowler and Lord George Hamilton; by three other ex-Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, Lord Ripon, and Lord Elgin; and at least two most prominent Governors, Lord Reay, late Governor of Bombay, and Sir M. E. Grant-Duff, late Governor of Madras.

England's possession of India constitutes unquestionably the greatest and most solemn trust ever placed in the hands of any nation since the creation of the world. Lord Randolph Churchill, in 1885, remarked that India was "the most truly bright and precious gem in the Crown of the Queen, the possession of which, more than of all your other colonies or great possessions, raises the reputation of these small islands above the level of the majority of

nations and of States, and places them in a position of equality with, and possibly even superiority over, the greatest empires of ancient or modern times." Lord Curzon supported this view in his speech at the Royal Societies Club on November 7, 1898: "India has always appeared to me to be the pivot and centre—I do not say the geographical, but the political and Imperial, centre—of the British Empire. . . . There lies the true fulcrum of dominion, the real touchstone of our Imperial greatness or failure." At the recent Delhi Durbar, in his memorable speech, his lordship thus emphasized the point: "I think a principal condition of England's strength is the possession of the Indian Empire, and the faithful attachment and service of His Majesty's Indian people."

Honour and fair play alike forbid Great Britain to surrender India's interests to the colonies. The Conservative Government did not even think of India being represented at the Colonial Conference. Thanks to the action of the Liberal Government, at the Conference next month India will be represented by a gentleman from the Council of India. Our thanks are due to that eminent politician, the Right Honourable Sir Charles Dilke, Bart., for championing the cause of India in the recent debate in the House of Commons. Neither the Government nor the British public have so far faced the subject of India in their fiscal "Empire arrangement." Two Agenda papers of the forthcoming Colonial Conference, issued within the last few weeks, do not even refer to India! Perhaps the home authorities find it inexpedient to ask those who have a prejudice against British Indian labour to concern themselves with the interests of India. If that is so, it is also unfair to compel India to give a preference to countries that have introduced legislature against their British Indian fellow-subjects. It is the duty of India to bring forward her proper economic position in the fiscal system of the Empire. So far no attempt has been made by us Indians in this direction. The fiscal scheme has not even been discussed in India.

While my countrymen are wasting their energies over the Partition of Bengal, which Mr. Morley has over and over again told us will not be reversed, this most important question has been absolutely neglected. No grievance of India affects every one of the 300,000,000, except one that vitally affects her economic condition. Therefore, in the name of 300,000,000 of our fellow-countrymen, who have no voice at all in the fiscal policy of the Empire, let us appeal to the British nation, to the conscience of a free and high-minded people, whose sense of justice is not limited by race, colour, or creed, that they do not sacrifice the interests of the 300,000,000 inhabitants of India, in order to cement more closely their friendship with the population, only 11,000,000 in all, of the self-governing colonies.

THE AGITATION IN BENGAL.

By R. CARSTAIRS, I.C.S. (RETIRED).

As public attention has been drawn to Bengal, a province of India, by the agitation there, and the "coronation" of Baboo Surendra Nath Banerjea, one of its leaders, some remarks from one who has nearly thirty years' experience of the province may be found useful.

The agitation is about the "Partition of Bengal." What, in the first place, is Bengal? Once it was a Hindoo kingdom in the delta of the Ganges. The kingdom is gone hundreds of years ago; its capital, Gour, a desolate mass of ruins overgrown with jungle. It became a province of the Mogul Empire, ruled by a Nawáb or Viceroy, whose place as Deputy of the Mogul Emperor was taken a century and a half since by the East India Company. For the last 150 years Bengal has given its name to that one of the three presidencies of British India which, starting from the delta of the Ganges as a nucleus, has spread over all Northern India from Afghanistan to China. Its Governor is Governor-General of India, having authority over the Governors of the other two presidencies—Madras and Bombay. Its capital, Calcutta, which we found a village of mud hovels, is capital of India, one of the world's greatest ports, and the second largest city of the British Empire. Its area is 900,000 square miles, its population 190,000,000, and it has been divided, before the partition of Bengal, into six provinces, whose population, including that of the Native States attached to them, and the names of European countries with a corresponding population, are shown in the statement on next page.

From the time when, in 1872, the first census was taken, and the vastness of the population of the province of Bengal was known, plans for the relief of its administration have been under discussion. To promote the province

Province.	Population.	Countries in Europe.
North-West Frontier ...	2,125,000 ...	Greece.
Punjaub (with States, Kashmir, and Rajputana) ...	37,384,000 ...	France.
United Provinces — Agra and Oudh (with States and Central India) ...	57,123,000 ...	Germany and Sweden
Central Provinces (with States) ...	11,873,000 ...	Holland and Belgium.
Bengal (with States) ...	78,494,000 ...	Austria-Hungary, Italy and Denmark.
Assam ...	6,126,000 ...	Bavaria.
<hr/>		
193,125,000		

into a presidency with Governor and Council, like Bombay and Madras, would not do ; for counting Native States, Bengal has nearly as many inhabitants as both combined ; while, if Native States are not counted, her British subjects, for whose management we are specially responsible, outnumber those of the two together by 18,000,000. Bengal is too heavy a charge for one administration.

Because of the expense, the one province could only be made into two on condition that one of them was joined to some neighbour. There was Assam, whose small size had caused nearly as much inconvenience as did the bulk of Bengal. So Eastern Bengal, with its 25,000,000, was joined into one province with Assam, with its 6,000,000, and Dacca was made the capital. Calcutta remained the capital of the reduced province, which still had some 57,000,000 left.

Then arose a storm of protests against the "disruption" of Bengal. The country whose disruption has given so much offence is not the presidency, nor yet the province, but the sub-province of Bengal — Bengal proper, the eastern part of the province. It may be remarked in passing that an apparently better arrangement* would have been

* It has since been observed in the *Times* that a gentleman whose name shows him to be a Kayastha of Bengal, hailing from Patna, has in a pamphlet sought to prove this arrangement to be less acceptable than that made. And it was the only alternative !

to join the whole sub-province of Bengal proper and Assam into one province, with Calcutta for capital, and form a new province of the three western sub-provinces of Behar, Chota Nagpore, and Orissa, which have between them a population of 35,000,000—several millions more than that of the new eastern province. For this province Patna would make a good capital. Had it been done, there would have been no disruption to complain of.

Would there have been no agitation? Though some excitement is inevitable when so great a change is made, and the nature of the change accounts for some irritation over and above this, the heat of the language used by some agitators needs further explanation, in view of the fact that both parts of Bengal proper are still under the same Government and laws, and subject to the jurisdiction of the same High Court of Justice.

And, first, it is to be noticed that the partition is not objected to by the whole country. The Mahommedans, who are a majority of the inhabitants of Bengal proper, approve. All the protests come from Hindoos. Again, the objections do not seem to be on religious grounds, for in that case the agitation would have been most fierce in the upper Ganges valley, which is the home of the Hindoo religion, instead of being confined, as it is, to Bengal proper, one of the outposts of that religion.

Is it general among the Hindoos of Bengal proper? All the prominent agitators belong to the three castes which claim pre-eminence among the Hindoos of Bengal—the Brahmans, the Baidyas, and the Kayasthas, of Aryan blood. The bulk of Bengali Hindoos are descended from non-Aryan tribes, and are low in the social scale of the Hindoos. Whether they join in the agitation or not—a question difficult for one not in the country to determine—it finds in the three castes named its inspiration and chief support.

What is their motive? After making due allowance for a mixture of patriotic sentiment, there can be little doubt

that the root motive is self-interest. This will appear clearly if we examine the circumstances. The figures of the last census, taken in 1901, before the partition, show that in the province of Bengal, as it then was, the three castes were 5 per cent. of the population; but out of 350,000 rent-receivers, 166,000 belonged to them. Of 142,000 workers, classed as officers and clerks of Government and local bodies, land agents, telegraph and postal officers, professors and teachers, lawyers, and medical persons of both sexes, they have 75,000; the balance consisting mostly of petty lawyers and teachers and unqualified medical men and women. But the castes are not satisfied. Their ideal is to have back the state of things which existed before the advent of the Mohammedans and of the British, when to them belonged of right all employment for which educated men were needed. They resent, on the one hand, the retention of Europeans in the public service, and, on the other, the admission to compete with them of Mohammedans and the lower castes of Hindoos whom, in their opinion, the British Government has gone out of its way to educate.

The fierce earnestness of the castes will not be realized unless it is understood that with them the struggle is not so much for aggrandizement as for existence. The richer a caste Hindoo becomes, the more numerous is the swarm of poor relations whom he has to feed or find work for. Since the advent of the British, when the Mohammedan foot was removed from the neck of the Hindoo, the castes have been making progress towards their ideal; for while they qualified themselves by education for the services and professions, neither the Mohammedans nor the lower castes of Hindoos were in a position to compete with them. As they made progress, they have multiplied, until their numbers have become abnormally large. The Baidyas as a caste are local to Bengal proper, and three-fifths of them are in the eastern part of it. Whereas in Western Bengal, Behar, and the upper Ganges valley the Kayasthas are

1 per cent. of the Hindoos, in Eastern Bengal they are 7 per cent. of the Hindoos, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the whole population. If by any means the share of the professions which they now hold is reduced, that means to many of them penury, or, what is as bitter, having to accept degrading employment.

It is the settled policy of Government to give opportunities to all castes and races, and, as that policy is developed, Mohammedans and low-caste Hindoos will qualify for and secure, at the expense of the three castes, their share of public employment and the professions. On every occasion when, as by this partition and the erection of a new province with a new capital, there is a disturbance of use and wont, the settled policy of the Government is likely to make a move forward; and this cannot but alarm the castes, which have everything to lose thereby. The partition has been made an occasion for agitation, but the agitation is really for the caste ideal against the policy. As the ideal is fixed, and the policy will not be departed from, agitation was bound to go on in any case; it began before the partition was thought of, and will certainly continue.

One of its leaders is Baboo Surendra Nath Banerjea. This distinguished Brahman was one of the first natives of India to enter the Indian Civil Service. Expelled from it early in his career, he became a journalist, an educationalist, and a strong advocate of "India for the Indians," which to him probably meant "Bengal for the three castes." One method of advancing this policy which found favour with its friends was to attack the prestige of the British, a method first used largely and without disguise in the "Illbert Bill" controversies twenty-three years ago. Seventeen years ago, during Prince Albert Victor's Indian tour, occurred an incident which is described as follows in the *Times* telegram of December 8, 1881, and is another instance of the method:

"A public meeting was held in Calcutta on Friday to

pass resolutions in reference to the Prince's intended visit to the metropolis. The Lieutenant-Governor presided. The meeting was very representative in character, and was attended by the Chief Justice, the Members of Council, and other leading members of the European and native communities. Unfortunately, however, for the success and harmony of the meeting, the Town Hall was closely packed with some 2,000 Bengalee college students. These ill-mannered and unruly youths, acting under the leadership of certain native newspaper editors who have rendered themselves notorious by their attitude of political opposition to the constituted authority, not only by preconcerted demonstration rendered the speeches inaudible, but succeeded in carrying an amendment over the Lieutenant-Governor's head, which completely invalidated and rendered futile the object of the meeting. The Lieutenant-Governor was compelled to dismiss, with purposes unfulfilled, a large assembly of responsible citizens all most anxious to demonstrate their loyalty to the throne, for the sole reason that a large number of undisciplined college students, drunk with the new wine of congress ideas, and none of whom could or would have subscribed a rupee, were employed by political wire-pullers to defeat and discredit by sheer force of numbers the loyal endeavours of the rate-paying community to pay fitting honours to the Queen's grandson."

The vexatious amendment was moved by Baboo Surendra Nath Banerjea.

It is not often that the agitators fly at such big game, but their attacks on the European soldier and civilian, both official and non-official, are monotonously persistent. Sometimes, indeed, genuine abuses are brought to light (for no body of men is wholly without fault); but the hostile spirit, the incessant vituperation, can only be meant to breed such distrust of the British, official and non-official alike, in the minds both of the superior authorities and of the subject races, as must paralyse our administration. One is tempted to think that the caste leaders wish to bring

about such a paralysis as a step towards getting the control of affairs into their own hands.

The "coronation" of Baboo Surendra Nath Banerjea looked like an overt act in the same direction; but as the idea of King Surendra Nath maintaining by force his throne against the world is unthinkable, we may safely accept the statement that the agitators do not wish to get rid of the Power under whose protection they live and agitate. They evidently intend, however, that its functions shall be confined to mounting guard while they manage Bengal through their own nominees and according to their own ideas. Possibly the agitators do not understand how disastrous may be the consequences of the course they follow. The attacks may even be made, as hostile votes are sometimes given in the House of Commons, only because they are not thought likely to have any effect.

The question whether this agitation game should be put a stop to or allowed to run its course is one of expediency, which can only be settled by the "man on the spot," in whose hands we may hope it will be left.

SIR OWEN BURNE'S "MEMORIES."

By R. L.

MR. EDWARD ARNOLD has just published a handsome volume, with many delightful illustrations, entitled "Memories: By Major-General Sir Owen Tudor Burne, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I." I have no hesitation in describing this work as quite the most interesting book of personal, social, military, and political reminiscences that has appeared for a long time. In its bearing on the social and political history of India since the Mutiny, it has a literary and historical value that will charm and instruct, not Anglo-Indians merely—by whom the story will be found of enthralling interest—but also every one who makes a study of the progress of our greatest dependency.

And the secret of this enthralling interest is not far to seek. In the first place, ever since his first appointment (when still quite a youngster) as Military Secretary to Sir Hugh Rose, down to the present time when he has retired from the public service covered with richly-deserved honours, Sir Owen Burne has been in the "inner circle" of Indian affairs, either in India, or at the India Office in London. What he does not know of Indian politics and Indian administration during the past fifty years is not worth knowing. And though he does not tell us so, in regard to all the stirring events of which he pleasantly gossips in his "Memories," he might justly add—*quorum pars magna fui*. And in the second place, he jotted down these "Memories," so he informs us in the Preface, simply for the entertainment of his own family; and, happily for the world and for posterity, he has been persuaded to publish these pages "just as they are"—full of that graphic vigour and vitality that might be wanting in more formal records. He modestly apologizes for what he considers the excess of the personal element, due to these circumstances. But

those readers who know something of Sir Owen Burne's services in and to India—and no Anglo-Indian of the period can be ignorant of them—will not need any such apology, for the writer's tendency is to minimize rather than to exaggerate his own share in the events he describes.

Sprung from an ancient and honourable family, Owen Burne was given his commission in the army by the late Duke of Cambridge in 1855, and almost immediately went out to the Crimea in charge of a draft for his regiment, the old 20th, now the gallant Lancashire Fusiliers. Returning home on the conclusion of peace, he was at Aldershot at the time of the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny in 1857. On August 6 of that year, he sailed with his regiment for Calcutta. From that time to the present his life has been part of the history of India.

Young Burne, soon appointed Adjutant of his regiment and Brigade-Major to Brigadier Eveleigh, took part in many of the most important operations against the rebels during the suppression of the Mutiny, including the siege and capture of Lucknow in March, 1858, when—as he subsequently learnt—he was recommended for the V.C. by Sir Hugh Rose. And in December, 1859, he was present at the capture of the very last batch of mutineers on the frontiers of Oudh and Nepal. He says of them :

"Among these fellows were the original mutineers of the famous Nusseerabad Brigade, who were primarily responsible for the Cawnpore massacre and other iniquities, and for whom therefore we had no pity ; but feeling unable to punish them as they deserved, our Brigadier, acting on the advice of the Civil authorities, let them all go to their homes by degrees, in the hope that their long and bitter experiences and sorry plight would be a more profitable warning to their families and friends than condign punishment.

"I had myself an interesting talk with one of the ringleaders of the Cawnpore Massacre, Jawala Pershad, who before being hanged gave me two silver bangles

and some old rings, which he said belonged to the Nana, in gratitude for some kindness I had shown him when starving; he at the same time told me of the then whereabouts of the Nana in Nepal, information which was afterwards verified as correct."

After the final close of the mutiny operations, Owen Burne obtained leave to go down to Calcutta early in 1861, and this is what happened there:

"I had continued to work at Hindustani in order to attain the higher standard—then a necessary condition for a permanent staff appointment—and was able within a few weeks to pass (August 5) what was called the Fort William College examination, which gave me the coveted letters of P.C.H.

"During this visit I was fortunate enough to meet the Commander-in-Chief, who was extremely kind and courteous, and told me that his Adjutant-General, Colonel Haythorne (he died October 18, 1888) had spoken highly to him about me. This kind and gallant soldier, who was much respected in the army, in evident recollection of the inspection at Gondah the year before, had given me some temporary work in his office, on reaching which one morning (September 17), in the course of ordinary business, I received the following laconic and characteristic letter from Sir Hugh Rose—viz., 'I have much pleasure in asking you to be my military secretary, and hope you will accept and come to-morrow morning to commence work.' Here was a *higher standard*, and no mistake! I could hardly believe my eyes. But notwithstanding a certain disinclination as a youngster of only twenty-four years of age to take the plunge, I gratefully accepted the offer with hardly any other thought in my mind at the moment than the pleasure the news would give the old folks at home, who, as I afterwards learnt, bought a big flag and drum in celebration of the event, while

my father was tempted to take many extra pinches of snuff. I began work the next morning with a somewhat palpitating heart."

After this, sometimes as Military Secretary, sometimes as private secretary, sometimes as A.D.C., Owen Burne accompanied the Commander-in-Chief, and we get delightfully informal accounts of the social and official life of Calcutta and Simla, of cold-weather tours of inspection, of visits to Kashmir, and so forth. And when Sir Hugh Rose came home in 1865, and soon became Commander of the Forces in Ireland, he still remained a faithful member of the staff. And it was his successful work in Ireland that, in September, 1868, brought him—now a Major—to be invited by Lord Mayo to accompany him to Calcutta as Private Secretary to the Viceroy.

Lord Mayo relieved Lord Lawrence at Calcutta on January 17, 1869, and Sir Owen has a good story to tell of the eccentricity of the out-going Viceroy:

"Thus, with a good adviser like Gordon at the start, and a most devoted and reliable assistant in Mr. Demetrius Panioty, I got hold of most of the ropes before Lord Lawrence took his departure. On one question the ex-Viceroy was emphatic, and that was the good treatment of the natives. On the last afternoon before he left for home, Lord Mayo and he took a drive—I was included in the party—in the course of which he impressed this doctrine very kindly and solemnly on his successor. Lord Mayo thanked him for this helpful advice, and we returned in due course to Government House. The Syce (or footman) was slow and awkward in opening the door of the carriage, when Lord Lawrence jumped out in a rage and gave his ear a good unmistakable tug! Lord Mayo laughed over this early experience of the difference between precept and practice, and said to me in a whisper, 'My first practical lesson in kindness to natives was

undoubtedly an odd one!" This was just like Lord Lawrence, with whom, it will be remembered, I was associated at Simla in 1864 as a member of Sir Hugh Rose's staff. He was an able and simple man, used to do his work in his shirt-sleeves, discouraged as much as possible all state and ceremony, and was delighted to cuff a Bengalee Baboo or a stupid Syce whenever he had the chance."

Happily such eccentricities as these were absolutely taboo both with Lord Mayo and his private secretary, and soon came to be regarded as utterly indefensible and impossible.

Just at the present moment, when Lord Minto has established such intimately friendly relations with the present Amir of Afghanistan, it is interesting to read Sir Owen Burne's description of the Ambála Durbar of 1869, and the visit of Shere Ali to India. A brief memorandum on our frontier policy, written by Lord Mayo on December 29, 1871, shortly before his tragic death, now reads almost like a prophecy, though at that time it was regarded by English Radicals at home as simple Jingoism:

"I have never met a sensible politician who held the opinion that our true policy is to await an invasion of India within our frontiers. I have frequently laid down what I believe to be the cardinal points of Anglo-Indian policy. They may be summed up in few words: we should establish with our frontier states of Khelat, Afghanistan, Yarkand, Nepal, and Burmah intimate relations of friendship; we should make them feel that, though we are all-powerful, we desire to support their nationality; that when necessity arises we might assist them with money, arms, and even, in certain eventualities, with men. Further, we should strenuously oppose any attempt to neutralize those territories in the European sense, or to sanction or invite the interference of any European

Power in their affairs. It may take years to develop this policy. It is contrary to what has been hitherto our course in India; but if it is once established, recognized, and appreciated, our Empire will be comparatively secure."

This wise and courageous policy was again taken up boldly by Lord Lytton, and has produced the happy results indicated by the success of the Amir's recent visit to India.

Every incident of Lord Mayo's viceroyalty, and of the doings of the viceregal Court at Simla and Calcutta, of the viceregal tours, of receptions such as that of the young King of Siam—*quicquid agunt homines*—is most pleasantly related by Sir Owen in simple and picturesque language. And of the terrible tragedy with which it closed, the assassination scene at the foot of Mount Harriet in the Andaman Islands, the account is really thrilling, for Sir Owen Burne was standing close to the Viceroy at the moment he was stabbed :

"It was, alas! all over; for the stabs proved fatal, and, while myself and others of our party got hold of the assassin with difficulty, Lord Mayo, half stunned, fell over the pier (where the water was fortunately shallow), exclaiming to me, as I quickly jumped down to his help, 'Burne, they have done it.'

"We did our best to raise him and place him in the boat, and, after binding up his wounds, rowed off to the *Glasgow*, which was anchored about half a mile away. It was a dreadful half-hour, during which our dear Chief almost imperceptibly breathed his last, and our party of joy was turned into a band of mourning! With unspeakable grief I had to break the awful news to poor Lady Mayo, while the sailors carried the body to the quarter-deck, where they soon erected a partition of flags, and constructed a rough coffin, over which we breathed a prayer of farewell for one of the most lovable of men and best of Viceroys."

After this dreadful occurrence Major Burne once more returned to England. On his arrival, he was sent for by Queen Victoria to stay at Osborne, in order to inform Her Majesty of all that had occurred. He dined with the Queen, and was accorded several most gracious interviews. The story of this visit—though, naturally, clouded by the sad remembrances of poor Lord Mayo—is one of the most interesting portions of these "Memories."

Within a very short time Major Burne was appointed by the Duke of Argyll to be Political A.D.C. to the Secretary of State—a newly-created office of great utility, designed for the benefit of native chiefs and other Indian notables visiting Europe. And during his tenure of this office it was found particularly valuable on the occasion of the State visit of the Shah of Persia, who had the advantage of being looked after by the new A.D.C. Some of the incidents of this visit, as told by Sir Owen, are most amusing, a chapter being devoted to His Majesty's Diary, which was subsequently presented to Sir Owen Burne. The Shah thus wrote of his farewell visit to Windsor :

"I presented my reflection to Her Majesty as a souvenir, and the Queen gave me one of herself and one of Prince Leopold. Indeed, from my first arrival on English soil up to this present day Her Majesty has exercised towards us the fulness of kindness and friendship. We drove to the mausoleum. The sarcophagus is of stone, and an effigy of Prince Albert lying in death of beautiful marble is placed on it. I laid on the tomb a nosegay which I had in my hand. I was much affected and saddened."

In 1874 Sir Owen was selected by Lord Salisbury, with the special approval of Mr. Disraeli, to be the Secretary in the Political and Secret Department of the India Office. In this position, and in the higher but not more important post of Member of Council, the rest of his official life was passed, except during the exciting interlude of his deputa-

tion to India as private secretary to Lord Lytton. And as he was now brought into close personal association with Lord Salisbury and other Cabinet Ministers, as well as with Sir Henry Ponsonby, the Queen's private secretary, and all the notabilities of the period, nothing could be more delightful than his chatty descriptions of the scenes and episodes of this part of his public life. Especially interesting are the numerous letters from Sir Henry Ponsonby. Here is an extract :

"In writing from Balmoral on one occasion, Ponsonby said : ' We have just arrived, to be established in this howling wilderness for some time to come. The papers you now send to the Queen really interest her. Serious questions with native princes ; anything to do with the Afghans as regards Persia or Russia, and, perhaps, anything of interest from Kashgar—these are the sort of things Her Majesty likes to hear about. She does not, in fact, like reading a sensational telegram in the *Times*, and not hearing anything on the subject from the India Office."

At the end of 1875 Lord Northbrook resigned the Viceroyalty of India for purely domestic reasons ; and Lord Lytton was at once selected by Mr. Disraeli to take his place, to carry out the proclamation of the Queen as Empress of India, and to re-establish the continuity of our frontier policy, that had been somewhat impaired by the untimely death of Lord Mayo.

This *Review*, in its January number, 1887, published a full account of the establishment of the Indian Empire from Sir Owen Burne's own pen. So it is unnecessary for me to say more of it here, except that the general sketch of the proceedings, with some of the more picturesque or amusing incidents, now given by Sir Owen in his "Memories," will be read with universal interest.

A special historical value attaches to Sir Owen Burne's account of the events in Lord Lytton's viceroyalty that led

up to the Afghan War. In regard to these events, political malignity in England was employed as unscrupulously in 1879, as in regard to Chinese labour in 1905, and with somewhat similar results at the polling booths in the subsequent General Election. Sir Owen's graphic narrative shows that both he and the Viceroy strove incessantly and with determination to bring about the necessary *entente cordiale* with Afghanistan and its ruler without recourse to military operations. But the "masterly inactivity" policy, that had been so foolishly persisted in before their arrival on the scene, had alienated and embittered Shere Ali, and had made Russian influence supreme at Kabul; and the usual result of such feeble folly ensued. We were compelled to repurchase, at an immense cost of blood and treasure, the position on our Indian frontier that we had wantonly thrown away, or else hand over the key of our Asiatic dominions to Russia. Lord Lytton faced the dire necessity that had been forced on him like a man, but neither he nor his private secretary cherished any illusions as to the outcome at home. They well knew that a costly, unpopular, and unsatisfactory war, however necessary it might be for the national honour and the national welfare, would be made the occasion for unscrupulous political attacks in England. We now sit safe at Quetta and Peshawar, and entertain a most friendly Amir at Agra and Calcutta. But the first real steps in the direction of attaining that happy position resulted in the fall of the Disraeli Administration in England, and the retirement of Lord Lytton from India.

The later pages of these delightful "Memories" deal with more recent events in England, and especially in London social and political life. We have many pleasant chats here about each of the Jubilees, about the Coronation, about innumerable other social functions of sorts, and, above all, about the various events of a happy and distinguished domestic life.

I can only add, in concluding this notice, that every

Anglo-Indian home, and many Indian ones, too, will be brighter and better for reading these delightful "Memories." Sir Owen Burne writes as a distinguished soldier, and as an extremely able and patriotic politician, who, like Ulysses, has had a wide and intimate knowledge of many men and many lands. But he also writes as a cultured and high-minded Christian gentleman, and an affectionate husband and father, rightly proud of his belongings. He gives his readers the privilege of the entrée into the inner life of a high-class English home with its unique combination of unaffected simplicity and happy dignity. He introduces us, in the freedom of private social life, to many men and women of note, in such a friendly way as to clothe what may have been hitherto little more than a name with vitality and character. English social literature is distinctly the richer for the publication of these selections grave and gay.

A DAY WITH "AN ABSOLUTE MONARCH."

By A. E.

"The Amir arrived in Delhi this morning, and afterwards paid a visit to the Kutab by motor-car."

SUCH is the laconic account given in the *Civil and Military Gazette* of the events of January 21, 1907, when His Majesty arrived at Delhi from Gwalior. As I think that a fuller account of the day may be of some interest, I have drawn up this for the information of those who would care to read it. I was ordered by the Commissioner of Delhi to come to Delhi to attend the public arrival of His Majesty the Amir. I set forth for Delhi, arriving there on Sunday, January 20, and spent a quiet day, chiefly in ascertaining the plans for the morrow, which developed as follows: At eight o'clock next morning the Commissioner and his staff (I was the staff) arrived at the station in a motor-car, the Commissioner in his political full-dress. All arrangements being complete, punctually at nine o'clock Sir Henry McMahon entered the Amir's saloon, and shortly after, His Majesty, in frock-coat and round high cap of black astrakhan, stepped out to a royal salute from the guard of honour of the 35th Sikhs and the weird, melancholy wailing of the Afghan National Anthem. During this period, while the long-drawn-out wails in a minor key continued, the Amir stood at the salute, and we stood at "attention." Then the Commissioner exchanged a few words in Persian with His Majesty, and, after the introduction of his staff and the officer commanding the troops, the Amir went to see the guard of honour. This was the moment looked for by us, so, the royal back being turned, the Commissioner and staff fled to the motor, and were hurled to the Circuit House in advance, to receive the Amir on arrival there.

Arrived at the Circuit House, we spent the time in

examining the various guards. Round the flagstaff on each side were the household troops—a squadron of the Shahi Rissala and one company of the Shahi Pultan. Opposite these, and on each side of the Circuit House, were a company of Kohistanis and another of Kafiristan men. They all wore the small high round black cap, and their arms and accoutrements, all made in Kabul, including the very excellently made magazine rifles, seemed good and serviceable. A flutter of excitement along the gaily decorated road—a sudden movement as the patient Oriental crowd rises to its feet—and the Amir approaches. The crowds bow low; there is a murmur of welcome, a low hum of "*Salaam Aleikum*," and the troopers of the escort—splendid men of the Tiwana Lancers—dash in through the gateway with the carriage containing "*Al Hazrat*" in their midst. Up goes the roll of bunting, and, as it is broken out, we see for the first time the flag of Afghanistan, a curious white device on a sombre black ground (argent on a field noir).

His Majesty slowly mounts the step, compliments the Commissioner on his Persian, ignores the staff, calls for his medical officer, Major Bird, and, intimating only too clearly by signs that his august liver is out of order, abruptly nods us all out. We retire to discuss plans, and are not a little upset by the sudden announcement that the Amir will go by motor to see the Kutab at once, starting at 10.15 a.m. instead of at 3 p.m. ! Such a bustling among the politicals, such an upset all round, in the midst of which the staff commandeers a carriage and takes the Commissioner away to change his clothes. By 10.15 sharp we are back once more, feeling well up to time, and with our heads securely on our shoulders. Not so the Afghan sirdars; there is gloomy silence and a portentous look of unhappiness among them. Up comes the Amir's motor, lent him by Lord Kitchener, with Captain Jenkins, R.F.A., as driver, without whom the Amir will not go in any motor. His Majesty halts on the steps, and addressing us in clear English, says,

"I am very angry with my people; I do not want to see any of them or speak to any of them to-day. They are all in disgrace, and I am going out without any of them." We murmur our regrets, and look at the sirdars with feeling, counting already the possible number of headless corpses on our return. I sympathize deeply with one sirdar, who seems a little put out by my condolences. I find out later that he is the Prime Minister of Afghanistan!

Away goes His Majesty in his motor, Captain Jenkins driving, with the Commissioner as guide and adviser in front, and the Amir with Mr. Dobbs, Political Department, behind.

In the second car followed the Deputy-Commissioner of Delhi, the Commissioner's staff, and Major Bird, and while His Majesty goes to the fort we try and obtain for him a suitable camera to replace his own, left behind at Gwalior. This is soon obtained, and we follow on, to find the Amir deep in the glories of the Diwan-i-Am, now undergoing repairs. We take the usual line—the royal quarters, the Diwan-i-khas, the women's baths, and the Moti Masjid. Never was such an indefatigable sightseer—no carvings or ornamentation left unnoticed, no inscription unread, each point noticed and commented on, every improvement looked at and appreciated.

An unusual tree struck the Amir's fancy—a "figus"; we could not give the proper name, so the Mali (gardener) was sent for. Trembling, he approached and offered a small bunch of flowers; this was accepted, and a gold coin given in exchange left him rooted to the spot in blank astonishment. Passing on, a European child, a little girl, looked curiously at the Amir. He went to her, and speaking kindly in English, gave her the flowers; then, patting her on the cheek, he went to his motor, and away to the Kutab Minar.

Arrived here, we first visited the shrine of the saint Alaud-din Chisti. His Majesty went in alone, and remained some time with the guardians of the shrine. After a while

he came to the doorway, and in the simplest manner said, "Gentlemen, I am going to pray." After prayer he came out, accepted a present of an illuminated manuscript of the "*Qurán Majid*," and in return presented forty gold coins. Then, seating himself on a stone, he took out a sandwich-case and began to eat biscuits, talking to us of the fallen grandeurs of the place, and the glories of Delhi as it once was.

After seeing the men jumping in the well—a sight beloved of globe-trotters, but which His Majesty said filled him with horror, and which he promptly stopped, saying, "It is not a good sight; I cannot bear to see it"—we moved on to Adam Khan's tomb, desecrated long ago, and now used as a rest-house for civil officers. Here a meal of tea, cakes, and fruits had been prepared, to which His Majesty invited us. Nor were we loath to accept the royal invitation, as it was nearly three o'clock then, and our breakfast had been early and frugal. During the meal the Amir conversed in a very friendly manner with us all, pressing us after to smoke the very excellent Havana cigars provided. His Majesty not only insisted on seeing everything, but ascended the Kutab Minar, with its 379 steps (in spite of Major Bird's remonstrance), to the very top, greatly admiring the view when up there.

To rest himself on his descent, he sat down a while, and one of the party was allowed to take his photograph. By this time the sun was descending low, and His Majesty sent for his coat. He refused to put it on, and keeping it on his arm, said to the Commissioner, "This was a mosque once, was it not?" Being assured that it still is used as a mosque, he turned to the descending sun, and, placing his coat on the ground, knelt down in the simplest manner and performed the evening prayers. It was an impressive thing to see; no one was near but six British officers. There was no ostentation or display about it; all was done in a simple and natural manner.

Then once more in the motor we proceeded to the

tomb of Nizam-ud-din, with the beautiful pierced marble screens, where the men diving from the dome into the large tank quite interested His Majesty, as there was no danger about it. Here, as at the Mahrauli well before, he presented each man who jumped with a gold piece.

His Majesty again went into the shrine alone, and again presented forty gold coins. But the priests still clamoured, whereupon the Amir, placing his hand on the Commissioner's shoulder, gave him a sudden push forward into the midst of the crowd, and in the ensuing confusion made good his escape, running as hard as he could, and laughing like a boy at the trick he had played.

A very short distance on, we came to the tomb of the Emperor Humayun, where the Amir expressed himself as greatly pleased with the improvements effected. Entering under the central dome, the Amir stood and looked at the marble grave; then placing his coat on the ground, he prayed once more, and afterwards remained seated on the ground in meditation before the grave of his distant ancestor. It was here that he asked me where I had come from, and hearing that I came from Hissar, he remarked: "Ah, yes! Hānsi-Hissār. I know it—where you breed the wonderful bullocks with the 3-feet horns!" Seven gold coins to the guardian of the place and one to the blind beggar at the gate was the extent of the kingly gifts there.

So we once more got in our motors, and this time, as it was nearly dark, we went straight back to the Circuit House, where, after salutations, we bade good-night to His Majesty. So ended a most interesting and memorable day, which one at least of the party will never forget.

His Majesty is a short, stout, broadly-built man, like his father in face and build, but without the set, stern, and somewhat cruel expression of his father. He speaks Persian with a strong Turki accent (his mother was a Turkmāni, and was brought up in Samārcand), and with a slight stammer. His English is fairly good, and he can speak Urdu well if required, but in English his stammer is

very pronounced. He is well read in the history of India, and put his would-be instructors right several times during the day. He left us with the impression of a kindly, genial man, strong, and deeply religious, in whom mercy predominates, and who realizes the weaknesses of his own position; a brave man, and a "sportsman."

To illustrate these points. Speaking of Afghanistan, he said: "My father ruled by personal authority. I rule by the same; but what State ruled by an autocrat ever flourished long? It is like a fountain which ascends in a steady stream till the zenith is reached, when it loses power, is dissipated, and descends in fragments." And again: "You rule here by *qánún* (law and order). If you die, another takes your place, and the *qánún* remains. If I die, who takes my place—my son or another? Who knows? But the *qánún* remains. Perhaps we shall have *qánún* in Afghanistan some day." Talking of the Aligarh College, he said: "They learn their religion there. Religion, true religion, is the only sound foundation of all education"; and we looked at each other and thought of our Education Bill! During this one day he presented in royal largess exactly 100 gold coins—"Bokhara tillas"—valued at Rs. 9 each; and he laughingly turned to us, and said, shaking a forefinger at us: "Mind, this is my own pocket-money, not State money. Afghanistan is too poor. All expenses for this tour of mine are from my pocket-money." This he said in English.

Talking of his shoot at Gwalior, he said: "I got two tigers, and was very pleased; but I want to shoot a peacock. I nearly spoilt the Gwalior shoot when I first saw a wild peacock." And again he explained why he would not go to the second day's shoot. "I got two tigers," he said; "I am not a butcher"—a sentiment which many a so-called sportsman would do well to remember.

At his first entry into British territory, when His Majesty arrived at Landi Kotal and Peshawar he was obviously

nervous and afraid. He went to his tents at once. A wall of *kanáts* was at once erected round the tents, and double guards stationed within and without. Fifteen days later His Majesty spends the entire day in a motor-car, with no single person of his own retinue there, and none but six British officers with him. Let us hope that this friendly spirit shown to the six that day may continue through all the relations with the Government of India in the present and in the future.

PROSPECTS OF INDIAN LABOUR IN BRITISH AND FOREIGN FIELDS.*

BY NASARVANJI M. COOPER.

WHEN I was in New York during the early part of 1900, I met there a Mohammedan gentleman who traded in British Guiana and had arrived in New York on business. Before I met him I had read and heard so much about the South and Central American Republics and the West Indies, that it was not long before I made up my mind to chance a voyage to British Guiana with him. After a short stay in Guiana, I travelled to Venezuela, Brazil, the Argentine Republic, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Panama, Honduras, and all the English, French, and Danish West India islands; and I think I can, without boasting, claim to hold the unique position of being the only Parsi who has travelled so extensively in those far-off regions. In most of these countries, particularly in those flying the Union Jack, I came across numbers of Indian immigrants. Their prosperity in their new homes at once struck me as something remarkable, and I devoted considerable time to the study of the natives of these countries, their habits and customs, and also investigated the prospects of further Indian labour in these new fields. I travelled and observed, and took copious notes, and will now proceed to state how Indian immigrants (coolies) are induced to proceed to these new fields to work on sugar plantations, and what prospects there are for them and future immigrants in these distant lands.

The immigrants called "coolies" are recruited in India by specially licensed native agents, who supply them with an authorized statement of the terms offered to them; and if they feel inclined to accept them, they sign an agreement before the proper officer. They are then collected in a

* For discussion on this paper, see report of the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

depot at the port of embarkation, from which they are conveyed to British Guiana, Jamaica, Trinidad, and sometimes to other British West India islands, in a licensed emigrant vessel under contract, and under the charge of a Surgeon Superintendent, appointed by the Crown agents of the different Colonies. On arrival, after medical examination, they are allotted and indentured to the different employers who have applied for them. Their period of indenture is for five years, during which period they are regularly inspected by the officers of the Immigration Department, and are also visited by the local Government Medical Officers. They are provided with suitable dwellings free of rent, built in accordance with Government regulations, the site of which has been first approved by the Government Inspector and the Government Medical Officer. These dwellings are situated on different parts of the estates and are not enclosed in any way. Each dwelling-yard on an estate is a village in itself, and there is no more difficulty experienced by the immigrants in entering into or leaving it, so far as fencing or other material restrictions are concerned, than there is in entering or leaving a village in Scotland. Owing, however, to the necessity for keeping the indentured population under observation, not only from the labour, but also from the medical point of view, it is required that all indentured coolies must reside on the plantations whereon they are under indenture. In general, owing to the distances from each other of the estates in the Colonies, the large numbers residing in each of the dwelling-yards, and the strict compliance with the law under which relatives and friends are allotted to the same estate, there is but little inducement for immigrants to leave the plantations during the week. However, it is a common practice for them, without applying for leave, to take the "week-end" from Saturday afternoon to Sunday night or Monday morning, for the purpose of visiting their friends on other estates. No objections have ever, to my knowledge, after making

inquiries among immigrants residing on different estates, been taken to the practice.

For the first three months of their indenture they are supplied with rations by the employer on scale approved by the Government of the Colonies, and a fixed wage of 1s. a day for men, and 9d. a day for women, the value of the rations (2s. 6d. a week) being deducted from their wages. After three months they are allowed to do task-work, at which many of them earn more than 1s. 9d. a day, and are allowed to feed themselves. At the expiration of their five years of indenture they are allowed to work where they like. It is open to them to be re-engaged for service under contract for another year, but none have hitherto availed themselves, to my knowledge, of this provision of the law. They prefer to work wherever they please. I have asked many immigrants if they do not prefer working on plantations, and be sure of a fixed income, to working by renting their own land, and perhaps incur a certain amount of risk; and everyone has expressed a desire to work where he liked and be his own master. "Me no work for master same like slave, me wantem to be nabob," is the invariable reply in English; for you must remember that after five years' residence on the estates every Indian immigrant speaks English—a kind of patois or jargon. Immigrants are required to complete a continuous residence of ten years in the Colonies before being entitled to a free or assisted return passage to India. But after the five years' indenture they may, by obtaining a passport from the Protector of Immigrants, which that officer has no power to refuse, leave the Colonies at any time at their own expense. During illness they receive no wages, but are fed and treated at the Government hospitals situated in the chief towns of the several districts, free of cost to themselves. Some large plantations have their own hospitals and staff. For many years past it has been the duty of the nurses employed in the estates' hospitals to visit the dwelling-yard each morning for the purpose of

seeing that no sick people are allowed to remain in their houses unattended to. There are no regulations for the punishment of indentured or other immigrants, all offences under the Immigration Laws being dealt with by the magistrate in open court, and the sentences carried out by the ordinary officers of the prison service. The employer has to prefer and prove his case in the same manner as any other private individual. All laws in connection with the introduction and supervision under indenture of East Indian immigrants have not only to be sanctioned by the authorities in the Colonies, but they must also meet with the approval of the Indian and Home Governments before they can become operative.

I have stated under what conditions the labourers are brought from India to the Colonies, how they are fed, and how they are treated. Your readers would now like to know what is the honest opinion of one of their own countrymen about their lot in their new homes, and I should say without the least hesitation that they are remarkably happy.

The Indian labourers in their native villages, overburdened with debt, their small dwellings seized by usurious Marwarees in payment of originally small loans, but swollen by compound interest to twenty times their original value, and their household goods threatened with dispersal, afford indeed a miserable spectacle. Disheartened and hopeless, they hear, as they smoke their *hukkas* under the village trees, of a land in the far West, where labourers are scarce; perhaps they meet some of their old acquaintances, whom they have lost sight of for many years, but who have now returned with a few thousand rupees, which they have earned in that same distant land; so our poor labourers pack up their few remaining possessions, take their wives and children to the nearest emigration depot, and offer themselves as passengers for one of the West Indian Colonies. After medical examination, they find themselves afloat on the great ocean (*kala pani*) in the ship which is to bear them to their new home. They are landed at the

immigration depot, registered on the books, and the whole family allotted to some plantation, to which they are conveyed as soon as possible. A family, for instance, consisting of husband, wife, and two children, can earn 16s. a week; out of this sum 6s. a week can easily be saved, which can be deposited in the Government Savings Bank, with interest at the rate of 3 per cent., so that when the family finish their five years under indenture they should be worth nearly Rs. 1,200. This is, however, not the case in all instances, but that is not the fault of the system, but of the men themselves. Rum is cheap, and the Hindus and Mohammedans, who are usually sober in India, become in too many cases infected with the love of strong drink. It has often made me sad to see drunkenness amongst some of the coolies. It is, I believe, a proof of an excess of money beyond their actual wants. Rum costs 2s. and beer 1s. a quart bottle in Demerara and Jamaica. In India they are sober of necessity, and as to food, many of them enjoy one meal a day. In their new homes they have all their "caffee-paoo" (coffee and bread) for breakfast, and one or two substantial meals with no dread of starvation in the future. I am absolutely convinced that, if immigrants be strong, sober, and industrious, there is no limit to the prosperity which they may attain. By honest labour they can amass a considerable amount of money. I have observed that many of them never waste their acquired wealth in clothes, houses, or servants; they remain in the same hut, clothe in the same *dhoties*, and eat the same boiled rice and vegetable curry as before; but they buy cows, and load their wives with bangles, armlets, foot-rings, and necklaces. For themselves they buy sovereigns at the bank, and, sending for native goldsmiths, they keep them at their huts and under their eyes whilst the sovereigns are turned into large gold beads, a whole string of which they fasten securely with a strong cord round their necks. I have frequently seen them working in a cane-field entirely naked, except for a *dhotie*, and a

string of gold beads or sovereigns round their necks. Some of them make large sums of money, but when they return to India with their savings they are generally robbed by their relations. As they have lost caste by crossing the *kala pani*, so the priests exact from them large sums of money before they will allow them to recover their caste, as also their relatives and the other members of the village community. Kirparam, an immigrant, after a residence of seventeen years in British Guiana (and he was only thirty-eight when I met him), felt a desire to visit India for a few months. He arranged about his passage, and one afternoon asked to see the manager of the bank in George Town (capital of British Guiana). When introduced in his presence, he said, with many salaams, "Sahib, me go em Calcutta only six months; me people too much tief, suppose money take em, people rob em, sahib, me give you me money for keep em, and me when come back you give em. Too much bad men Calcutta." The sahib said that he did not take small deposits. Certainly, Kirparam did not look like a capitalist, with his bare legs and feet and a dirty turban and a *dhotie*. When Kirparam assured him that it was not a very small deposit, but £4,000, the sahib exclaimed, "What! you have £4,000?" "Yes, sahib," murmured Kirparam, and took out from inside his big turban a small cotton bag, and placed it on the sahib's desk. Needless to say, it contained £4,000 in gold and paper.

But this is only one instance. I could give many such from personal acquaintance. In Berbice (British Guiana) there lives an old immigrant who is the proud possessor of about sixty houses and about 4,000 head of cattle, and, besides, considerable sums of money in the banks. This is no exaggeration. He is reputed to be the richest coolie in British Guiana. Ask the immigrants if they desire to return to India, and most of them will say that they do not. I have seen them in their new homes, smoking Virginia cigarettes and Havana cigars, driving in cabs, drink Dewar's whiskey and Mazawattee tea, wear

cashmere trousers and Russian leather shoes, and even drink Moët et Chandon's champagne. Why, an immigrant returning to India was known to carry with him on board a case of champagne and half a dozen bottles of Eno's fruit salt. I know one who keeps some of the finest race-horses in Jamaica, and I know some who travel as saloon passengers between British Guiana and New York. And now I may ask, how many can afford to enjoy these luxuries with all our college and University education?

We shall now proceed to examine the social condition of the immigrants in their new homes, their mode of living, their religion, their morals, and their education.

Amongst the East Indian immigrants introduced into British Guiana and other Colonies, the percentage of women is small; there are, on an average, not more than thirty-five women to every hundred men, so it is impossible to provide each man with a wife. I understand that there is great difficulty in persuading women to emigrate from India. I ought to say that the male relations of a woman wishing to emigrate will do everything in their power to prevent her from doing so. When landed in his new home, the immigrant, unless he has brought a wife with him, or has persuaded a female on board ship to live with him when he arrives, has very small chance of getting a wife until he has worked for some years and amassed sufficient money to enable him to purchase the daughter of a fellow-countryman who is blessed with a family. It can well be imagined, on a large sugar estate where there are 700 or 800 East Indians, most of whom are young men, that the husband of an attractive young wife has not a very easy life. Every inducement of love and jewellery is tried to seduce the girl (often only fourteen or fifteen years of age) to leave her husband, or, at any rate, to listen to the tales of love poured into her ears. It is no wonder that such a state of affairs often leads to adultery, and adultery too frequently leads to murder. In this country the injured husband seeks redress in the divorce court, but not so with the Hindu or

Mohammedan immigrant. He mutilates the faithless wife by chopping off her nose, breasts, or arms, and if in a violent rage, cuts her into pieces with his cutlass. These violent assaults and murders are, unfortunately, very common, and I remember two murder cases which were tried in Demerara during my short stay of a few weeks there.

Jealousy is not the only cause of murder. The Hindu immigrant, as a rule, minds his own business, but often is very revengeful; and if he be injured or slighted in any way he seeks an opportunity for redress. A singularly brutal murder was committed in a village in Jamaica a few weeks before I arrived there. A Hindu woman with her husband and two children lived in a hut close to one occupied by a man named Gangadin. Once friends, they had quarrelled over some trifling matter, and at last the dispute culminated by the woman accusing Gangadin's son of having stolen a shilling which she had left in her house. The woman went to the police-station and laid a charge against him before the police. This so incensed Gangadin that he went to the woman's house, cursed her and threatened her with his vengeance. Two hours afterwards the woman laid her baby down to sleep under a tree, telling her daughter, a little girl of four, to watch her brother while she herself cleaned out the house. Shortly afterwards Gangadin came up armed with a cutlass, struck the sleeping baby with it on the head, killing it instantly, then chopped down the girl, whose shrieks brought out the mother, and whom he attacked; and, as she lay on the ground, the inhuman brute continued to strike her lifeless body. He was tried, convicted, and sentenced to death.

The East Indian girls are disposed of in marriage by their parents without much consideration for their personal feelings. During my stay in Demerara I was shown a copy of a curious marriage contract. It ran as follows:

"Plantation Brothers, British Guiana, county of Berbice. Contract of marriage entered into on Wednesday,

13th February, year of our Lord 1884, between Chotwa, residing at Plantation Brothers, the father of the bridegroom named Mahadoorlal, and Jumnee also a free coolie woman of the same plantation, she is the Mother of the bride named Ramkhalya a coolie girl daughter of Jumnee. They are bind by promise themselves each other by faithful confidence according by this contract and Mahadoorlal and bridegroom and Ramkhalya bride. They both agreed for married each other and they both signed before presence of three witnesses whereof herein—undermentioned their names. Firstly the coolie woman Jumnee acknowledged and received \$20 and bind by promise for Chotwa the father of the bridegroom. If my daughter released anytime to husband Mahadoorlal after married, she will pay back the \$20 and also the whole expense of the marriage, and if Ramkhalya kept another husband the same husband will pay the whole amount of this married. This is legal married among them, which they did alway. Their relations in India in the age of puberty propose marriage, on Saturday 16th February 1884 both the bridegroom and the bride did married, and every acquainted of this married at Plantation Brothers, Berbice, Colony of British Guiana. Signed before three witnesses whereof hereinto—mentioned their names on that time of epoch as hereafter. This marriage four wish and in eriedint \$89. Eighty-nine dollars this is the whole expense. Total amount \$89."

A magistrate in charge of the east coast district of Guiana received the following letter, which discloses a somewhat singular state of society among the immigrants :

"SIR,—The driver, of Plantation Vryheid's Lust by name of Salim, sold his wife to me for \$97. After receiving this, he came two week after and take her back. I lost the amount. I beg whether I must bring the case before you on the supreme.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"Kanhoye his x mark."

It is remarkable, however, that, despite the scarcity of women amongst the East Indian population, I have never seen an East Indian taking up with a negro woman. There is a mutual antipathy between the races. A negro prisoner once asked an Indian witness, "Do you know me?" The Hindu with contempt, replied, "Me no keep em company with black men." Because the Indians are fond of rice, the negroes cut jokes at them by saying, "You coolie, what a rice," which the Indians return, by saying, "You nigger, what a salt fish." When a negro tries to belittle an Indian immigrant, he retorts by saying, "Me no slave same like your father."

Morality among the negroes is at a very low ebb, and the ceremony of marriage is not much regarded among the masses of negroes in British Guiana and Jamaica. In 1900 (when I was in Jamaica) the percentage of illegitimate births was 60·06, and I do not think matters have improved much since. This is indeed setting a bad example to Indian coolies.

There is also the native Indian (aborigines) population to be taken into consideration. These native Indians, away from towns and villages, live in utter degradation. I have seen some of them in the forests of Guiana and Venezuela entirely naked. Marriage among these natives is only another name for purchase, and those of the men who are rich enough buy sometimes as many as six or seven wives, one or more of whom they are generally willing enough to sell. The morality amongst them is of the lowest order. Uncles marry nieces, and brothers sisters, and I have heard of worse and more unnatural connections frequently taking place. The unfortunate woman has no voice in any transaction, and no choice but to submit to what is required of her.

Now let us see how the Indian immigrants are treated by the white and the black population of these Colonies. Well, they enjoy absolute freedom and are treated with great consideration by the white population. There is no Asiatic

Ordinance in these Colonies as in the Transvaal, for the whites of Jamaica and Trinidad are better educated and altogether more refined, and are descended from a better stock. Colour makes no difference in these colonies. The Indian immigrants live in absolute happiness. They can live where they like, can own houses and lands, and can travel in the same railway compartment side by side with a white man or a *mem-sahib*. I have often seen white men playing with and fondling the babies of these immigrants. The whites consider them useful creatures, for they know that without them the sugar cultivation in the Colonies would cease altogether. They are useful, and, as the whites say, "they are ornamental." But I regret I cannot say the same thing about the negroes. Though some of the blacks live on good terms with the immigrants, the majority of them have no friendship for them. There is no jealousy. The negroes do not regard the immigrants as their competitors who have come to lower their wages. The immigrants come to work; the negroes do not want to work. The two races are more absolutely apart than the white and the black. The immigrants insist on their superiority of birth, and pride themselves on the ancient civilization of Hindustan. But the majority of negroes do not know anything about Hindustan, and believe that the Indian immigrants, with their *dhoties* and turbans, come from a savage land.

The immigrants on their arrival in the Colonies are generally ignorant, half-famished, and emaciated; but after a time they pick up flesh and altogether look different beings. Their offspring born in the Colonies are always better-looking than themselves. These creoles are a fair race, both men and women. Some of them are very handsome, and particularly the women. Not often in India have I seen such stately and beautiful Hindu and Mohammedan women, with their bewitching eyes and tiny lips, as I have seen among these creole women. With what delight and a kind of pride—for are they not the

offsprings of the immigrants from India?—have I watched some of these handsome creole girls, possessing exquisitely-shaped features, with silk handkerchiefs of many colours wrapped round their heads and with English parasols in their hands to protect their fair faces, looking at the shop-windows in Water Street in George Town, and often making purchases in these shops, where white men attend to their wants. Your readers may laugh, but really the eyes of some of these creole boys and girls are bewitching. I have heard many English planters and other business men in these Colonies say that the features of these East Indian creole girls are far superior to those of some of their own women. The East Indian creole boy has tasted the sweets of education and British civilization. He dresses suitably, and, unlike the parents, both the boys and girls now marry for love. There is no lack among them of Romeo and Juliet. A fine race of men and women is springing up, and let me express the hope that these East Indian creoles would form within the next twenty-five years the principal population and mainstay of these Colonies. I met a creole Hindu in La Martinique who had married a French girl of the island. I asked the girl why she married a creole Indian, and her reply was, "*Pourses yeux, monsieur.*"

With regard to the religion of the immigrants, the majority of them are Mohammedans. Although there are mosques and temples in the various towns in the Colonies, few care to go there for worship. They change their belief in religion as often as the seasons change. I have known Hindus becoming followers of the Prophet and Mohammedans becoming Christians before you could say "Jack Robinson." If a Mohammedan woman objects to living with a Hindu male, then the only thing he has to do is to go to a *moulvi* and declare his resolution to be a Muslim. Ask an immigrant why he became a convert to Christianity, and his reply will be: "When me believe Mussulman, me religion no allow rum and pork ;

now me believe Jesu, me same like Governor, me can eat and drink what me like em." No wonder, then, that the immigrants in their new homes forget their God and their duties to their neighbours. Christianity has failed in their case.

Their education, also, is in a very backward state. There are schools for the creole children on the plantations, but the parents are indifferent, and very few can read or write. The negroes are better educated, and it often pained me, when I was in the Colonies, to notice how the education of the young Indian creoles was sadly neglected. Have we no disinterested and patriotic men in India who would go to these Colonies to teach the young minds how to shoot. It is no use saying that it is the duty of Government to do so. The Government of the Colonies have established schools and provided teachers, but they cannot force instruction into the heads of the young. There are many in India with money and good heads who should take up this task. Time and money would be better spent on such a noble object than that spent on inciting people for the redress of imaginary wrongs and making them discontented.

The only educated Indian I met in British Guiana out of a population of 100,000 immigrants was a Bengali. He was a short, emaciated man, and had lived in the Colony for about ten years. How and why such an educated man came to the Colony as a labourer was a mystery to many. He spoke and wrote beautiful English, and was once tried, but acquitted, for sedition and disloyal utterances. To me he seemed an object of pity. The white planters hated him, and the immigrants looked at him with distrust. They did not consider this Bengali as their friend; on the contrary, they dreaded him as a mischief-maker, and as one who tried to bring about a state of ill-feeling between the whites and themselves. They treated him as a worthless fellow, saying: "Bara haramkhor hai, nahi kuch kam karé, khâli sarkarku gali dèvé." With all his education, he could

scarcely find any work in the Colony. Let me here state that these uneducated but happy and prospering immigrants yield to none in point of loyalty to the British Raj. They have no imaginary grievances, and are consequently happy.

Although this Bengali gentleman wrote excellent English, there are often to be noticed specimens of English "as she is wrote" by the Indian settlers which would send one into fits of laughter. An English magistrate in Berbice received the following application from a Mohammedan immigrant, relating to a vacancy in the staff of interpreters in the chief court of that town :

"Sir,—The humble petitioner has been and will solicitation that I heard the Hindustani interpreter of Sheriffs interpreter he self left the business, and willing to go to his native country in the second ship, and if Perfector order to the Petitioner for in his compensation in the same business, of couers I will make arrangements in the Court to look after consignment of ordinal manner for that Statu quo. Therefore I oblige to bring in my consideration or understanding for the place. And this is my information brought to your Highness for the business, and will divulged, and humbly represents to consent the petitioner in the same place."

But in their speeches and writings the negroes of the Colonies almost equal the immigrants. Take the following for example :

"SIR,—You yourself is a mortal man that God Almighty has made, and through your dignity and wisdom Her Majesty has appointed you to assist the Governor to rool the nations. Therefore, Sir, you become not only a magistrate, but as a father for us in this Demerara River district. So, Sir, I trust with all confidence that you will hearken to my humble statement. I am obliged to inform your Worship that on the 11th March about 7 o'clock in the

night I was barbarously beaten by Joseph Adonis and his wife with sticks, and inflict wounds on my body and Bloodshed. Also Deprived me of the sum of twelve dollars and seventy-two cents I had brought from town with me, the very night, was tied into a handkerchief and was into my pocket. Both parties deprived me all. I am obliged to confess to your Worship that I was overtaken in liquor and became drunk, so that I could not defend myself. Afterwards they hit upon the results of what they had done, they planned out to take the first steps of Law before your Worship so as to make their ends right, and before I recovered my health from the beating, her husband already set up his wife before your Worship with their complaint. Moreover the Complainer have many witnesses that are living with her in one abroad and her husband supporting them. They will no doubt purge themselves before your Worship, and I having only one though a sconstable and slow of speech. I hereby subject myself to your Worship decision on Court Day, and trust that the Almighty will enhance Your Worship to greater Honour for justice sake."

Their speeches are as wonderful as their letters. At a black wedding one of the guests delivered an oration which he had carefully written down:

"My friends, it is with feelings of no ordinary nature which have actuated my inmost heart on this present occasion, for on such festivities so full of mirth and aggrandizement, when the Bridegroom and Bride in all their splendour repair to the house of reception, and there we find familiar friends and neighbours heralding the consummation of their enterprise, it fills me with that enthusiasm which otherwise would fail to draw out our congratulations."

I will now state how Indian immigrants who have finished their five years' term of labour in plantations could proceed to make a living for themselves independently

in the Colonies or in other foreign lands close to the Colonies. From what I have observed, I could safely say that in the case of hardworking and steady immigrants there is no necessity that they should migrate to foreign lands. There are at present about 300,000 of them in the three Colonies, and there is enough work for them all. Jamaica and Trinidad have plenty of work for them; however, I should at any time prefer British Guiana. It is my ideal for a Colony. Were I at any time to choose a simple life with "three acres and a cow," I should certainly prefer it to the other Colonies for my abode. It is an immense country, where a million souls and more could live by working on the soil. The climate is perfect and vegetation grows wild. There is perpetual summer, though it rains at intervals. There is no fear of the monsoon failing and no dread of consequent famine. A *dhotie* and a turban are only necessary for covering the body. Land is cheap—about a dollar an acre, provided you undertake to put it under cultivation within a certain period. Rice could be easily grown for local consumption. Yams and cassava grow without much effort. All sorts of fruits and vegetables could be cultivated, for the soil is easily worked and inexhaustibly fertile. The bread-fruit and *papao* grow luxuriantly. From cocoa-nuts you can get oil or butter. Baked plantains are considered very nourishing. You might say that bananas and plantains grow wild. I have seen whole bunches of them thrown to pigs—such bananas as would be considered a luxury on the table of any large restaurant in London. Oranges and limes are plentiful; the latter grow in abundance, and are allowed to ripen on the trees, to fall ultimately on the ground and rot. Purchase a few acres and grow cocoa and coffee, and silver always awaits for these products in the towns. If you have money, go in for shop-keeping. Some of the finest shops in Water Street, the principal thoroughfare of George Town, are owned by Indian immigrants. Many have made decent fortunes by lending money to negroes, and

sometimes even to Portuguese shop-keepers and white assistants in banks and mercantile offices. In short, British Guiana is India on a miniature scale. The climate and the surroundings remind you of India, and lend you a sense of feeling that you are living in your native land. An English traveller in the Colony thus describes a coolie village :

"Human dwelling-places are rarely interesting in the tropics. A roof which will keep the rain out is all that is needed. The more free the passage given to the air under the floor and through the side, the more healthy the habitation ; and the houses, when we came among them, seemed merely enlarged packing-cases loosely nailed together and raised on stones a foot or two from the ground. The rest of the scene was picturesque enough. The Indian jewellers were sitting cross-legged before their charcoal pans, making silver bracelets and earrings. Brilliant garments, crimson and blue and orange, were hanging to dry on clothes-lines. Men were going out to work, women cooking, children playing or munching sugar-cane, while great mango-trees spread a cool green roof over all. Like Rachel, the coolies had brought their gods to their new homes. In the centre of the village was a Hindu temple, made up rudely out of boards, with a verandah running round it. The doors were locked. An old man who had charge told us we could not enter ; a crowd, suspicious and sullen, gathered about us as we tried to prevail upon him ; so we had to content ourselves with the outside, which was gaudily, and not unskilfully, painted in Indian fashion. There were gods and goddesses in various attitudes : Vishnu fighting with the monkey god, Vishnu with cutlass and shield, the monkey with his tail round one tree while he brandished two others, one in each hand, as clubs. I suppose that we smiled, but our curiosity was resented, and we found it prudent to withdraw."

If an immigrant is not satisfied with British Guiana, then let him try some of the Republics in South and Central America. Let us first see how Venezuela would

suit our immigrant. There are already many Indian labourers working there on coffee plantations. Many of them are married to Spanish women. Some of them have forgotten Hindustani and only speak Spanish. I met many of them. They are very hospitable. Enormous as Venezuela is—being four times as big as the whole of Central America—there are less than three millions of people to inhabit it. Over fifty millions could live easily there without in any way crowding upon one another. Many labourers find regular occupation on the sugar plantations, since the cane grows everywhere in the country, except in the mountainous regions, and the sowing and reaping are so arranged as to keep the plantations under cultivation all the year round. Constant irrigation has to be resorted to, but in a land so bountifully supplied with water this is easy enough. Besides the Orinoco, there are 1,058 rivers in this large Republic. In the large coffee plantations a labourer works happily and contentedly enough for his 40 or 50 cents a day (say 2s. to 2s. 2d.), putting in from seven to eight hours' good work.

To induce immigrants to come to Venezuela the Government offers free transportation from the starting-place to that of destination at the main immigrant depots. Immigrants are cared for and fed for a space of thirty days after their arrival, all their belongings are carried free, they are exempt from consular or other fees, and when they are engaged to work by the Government they are transported free to the Colonies. Moreover, each man or woman of prescribed age is entitled to a free grant of public land of from two to six hectares. They have to cultivate one-third of it within four years, or it is confiscated. The new arrivals are governed by the alien law, but may become naturalized. Within two years of their arrival they may purchase lands, but need not pay for them until four years later, when title-deeds are issued in their favour, and these may be regarded as secure.

Then we have Brazil and the Argentine Republic.

Brazil is the third largest country in the world, and the population is only fifteen millions. Vanilla and coffee could be grown very profitably. A condition of assistance to immigrants by the Brazil Government is that the arrival shall remain in the country for at least three years, and shall seriously work the allotment of land given to him. For this period he must not sell it, but at the end of the time he has "a clear and inviolable title," of which he may freely dispose if he wishes and if he can. I may say that the attitude of the Government towards immigrants is one of benevolent toleration.

If the new settler has an aptitude for agriculture, and if he is prepared to carry that natural aptitude into effect, he may find Brazil a "passable" field for his enterprise. It is agriculture in particular which the Brazilian Government is prepared to foster, and it has offered great inducements to those who will seriously undertake it. Bounties have been paid to farmers who can produce on the market-place 4,000 pounds of flour, 2,000 pounds of rice, or 1,200 pounds of maize, which has been actually grown in the country. Additionally, all rice, maize, cotton, beans, flour, sugar, molasses, and even sugar-cane brandy and tobacco, have been declared to be free from any description of taxation for ten years.

Other countries (particularly Russia) are sending out agents to Brazil with the object of finding suitable places for Russian colonists. The rich Jews are doing the same thing for their unfortunate co-religionists. Here is a chance for the rich Zemindars of Bengal to assist some of their poor countrymen. I have heard of no one starving in Brazil, the country being too rich in natural foodstuffs for that to happen, in addition to which the people themselves are, as a rule, kind and considerate to the stranger at their gates.

The Argentine stands alone among the South American republics as an exporter of cereals. Little more than thirty years ago the country was importing grains for her own

consumption from the United States or Chile ; but to-day she is supplying a great part of Europe, and promises, at no distant date, to take position as premier wheat-producer of the world. It is estimated that there are 104 million hectares of arable land fit for immediate cultivation, and only ten millions are actually under cultivation. Day by day, however, the wheat area is spreading, more particularly in the regions of the railways, which are naturally doing their utmost to encourage farmers in their enterprise. The question of labour is, however, daily becoming more difficult of solution. Immigration is not proceeding as rapidly as could be desired, and although wages range high during the harvest season, the number of workers presenting themselves are becoming fewer and fewer. The growing of wheat can be carried out in the following ways :

- (a) Upon rented land, payment being made in cash or equivalent to the same in crop.
- (b) In partnership with the landowner, the latter taking 50, 40, or 30 per cent. of the crop.

In addition to wheat, profitable cultivation may be undertaken in the Argentine of barley and oats ; rice, of which but little is grown, considering the facilities which the country offers.

Moreover, there is a profusion of mineral wealth in these countries. But the ignorant natives do not half realize the immensity and importance of their possessions. Over and over again have I thought, "How if the Union Jack floated here ?" But that is rather treading on dangerous ground. What about Mr. Monroe and his doctrine ?

Outside the British Colonies, the most prosperous East Indians I have come across are in Costa Rica, Central America. In some parts of Costa Rica, particularly near the Banana River, land could be had for the asking. You have only to clear the forests and begin cultivation. By

industry and hard work you could grow more than what you would require for your own needs. Some of the East Indians there have put large tracts of land under cultivation, and have become rich by growing bananas and cocoa, which find a ready sale in Port Limon, and from where they are shipped to New York. While in San José (the capital of Costa Rica) I met several East Indian beggars, well dressed, smoking briar-wood pipes and riding well-fed horses. They had all brass rings round their necks to show that they were permitted to beg. They were all healthy and strong, and did not seem inclined to do honest work. Some of them were married to pretty Spanish women and had large families. Although beggars, they wasted their money in gambling, drinking, and dissipation. I spoke to some with the idea of getting them to realize their degradation, but, alas! they had already sunk too low. I also met in Port Limon, coolie Harris, who bore the proud designation of the King of Indian coolies. He was the richest East Indian in all Central America. Hindu by birth, he had clung to the same orthodox rites and ceremonies that he had learnt in the old country, and had married a Hindu creole girl from Jamaica. He spoke Spanish, English, and Hindi, and was one of the greatest drunkards I have come across during my rambles in that part of the world. Many more interesting anecdotes and strange experience I could relate, but all "that is another story," as Kipling would say.

Before I close, there is one important point to which I would specially like to draw attention. I have stated what prospects are held out to Indian labourers in these distant lands, but I must not forget to remark that there are really very few chances for educated Indians with University degrees there. A couple of barristers and a couple of doctors can surely prosper in British Guiana, and can secure good practice among the East Indians, who are, as a rule, very fond of litigation. A few more Indian doctors and barristers could do well in Jamaica and Trinidad. A few can thrive as merchants and their clerks. But that is all.

The ordinary labourer, without a University degree or without being called to the Bar, could prosper in these Colonies and could even make fortunes, but the products of our Universities are sure to rot. For Parsis there is absolutely no field there. Of late they have all become too soft by a surfeit of prosperity to undergo the hardships and privations of establishing a Colony in these distant lands, where travelling conveniences are as yet few, and personal comforts not many, and, besides, costly. Of late also, I am sorry to say, that instead of concentrating their attention to the development of industries and commerce, some of them have taken to politics and criticising the actions of the Government. And while Hindus and Mohammedans are quietly amassing money in Bombay and elsewhere, the Parsis are ruining their future prospects. Alas that it should be so!

To sum up, then, sober and industrious men prosper everywhere, but the intemperate and lazy never do any good. My ideal of a Colony for immigrants being British Guiana, I again say that every hardworking and honest man or woman who goes there has an equal chance of improvement. The climate is well suited to East Indians; their offspring show signs of improvement, and will, let us hope, in time form the principal resident population. No one can say what may be before them hereafter. But one thing I am sure of, that, under the beneficent administration of the British Raj, these Indian immigrants and their offspring can live happily and prosper, and that, years after, our children may live to see flying in that distant land the Union Jack as now, but with the addition of the words inscribed in letters of gold, "The Colony of British New India."

QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROF. DR. EDWARD MONTET.

GENERAL WORKS.

THE Polyglot Bible, edited by F. Vigouroux, has been enriched with a new volume (vi.) containing Ezekiel, Daniel, the twelve minor prophets, and the First and Second Books of the Maccabees.*

To the "Dictionary of the Bible," published by the same author, another part has been added (28) from the words *namsi* to the word *oie*.

Volume xviii. of the "Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche" (third edition, by A. Hauck)† has been published. Among the articles on Orientalism, we may mention "Sibyls and Sibylline Books," "Sidonians," "Sinai," "Slavery among the Hebrews," etc.

In the pages of "Annales du Musée Guimet," Edouard Naville has included the lectures he delivered in 1905 at the Collège de France on "The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians."‡ These essays are of great interest, and are, moreover, written with great clearness. We draw attention to two or three particularly interesting points. Regarding the origin of the Egyptians, Naville thinks that it is from the South of Arabia that the foreign element came, and from the same race as the Africans who subjugated the first occupants of the country and who brought them civilization. It is known that stretching along both coasts of the Red Sea was the country of the Punt—called Kush in the Old Testament—and that it was inhabited by people of an aquiline type, with pointed beards, silky hair, wearing their cotton drawers as the Egyptians and a very similar

* Paris: Roger et Chernowiz, 1906. † Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906.

‡ Paris: E. Leroux, 1906.

race on the borders of the Nile. Naville well characterizes the religious reform of Amenophis IV. (XVIIIth Dynasty) in proving that it was rather a political revolution than a religious one. With the end of the Egyptian religion, we come to the world of the Greeks. During the Greek epoch, under the Macedonian kings, that what predominated in the Egyptian religion was the outward cult. The ceremonies, the ritual already so rich and elaborate at Abydos and at Thebes during the epoch of the XIXth Dynasty, became still more so under the Ptolemies. The last books that reflect the beliefs of old Egypt are those which have been attributed to Hermes Trismagistus.

P. Martino, professor at the College of Algiers, has written a book of the greatest interest on "The Orient in French Literature in the Seventeenth and the Eighteenth Century."* The author shows in the introduction that in the Middle Ages there existed but an imaginary knowledge of the East, and that the taste for it only really grew in the seventeenth century. In the eighteenth century, that new and deep interest for the East, brought about, in 1780, the formation of the Orientalist science. In the seventeenth century, till 1660, they cultivated in France romance and tragedy; the works produced on Oriental subjects were ridiculous and grotesque. On the contrary, however, from 1660, we find a real taste for the East, the reason for which is to be found in the multiplication of travellers to the East, their narratives, and also in Colonial expansion and the arrival of embassies from Eastern lands. It is impossible to follow the author through all the developments of his subject; we will only state that the work is divided into two parts: I. The Knowledge of the East (from the middle of the seventeenth century to 1780); and II. The East in Literature (tragedy, comedy, fiction, satire, philosophy, customs, and art). The chapters where the author speaks of the religious missions, of Montesquieu, of Voltaire (*essay on the customs*), etc., are especially interesting. We

* Paris: Hachette and Co., 1906.

cordially recommend to Orientalists, as well as to the general public, Mr. Martino's work, which is of real scientific value.

The last part of the selection "Archiv für Religionswissenschaft" * which has appeared, deserves to be specially mentioned, because of the interesting articles it contains, among which are: "Goldziher," the importance of the afternoon in Islam; "Cumont," an article on *Jupiter summus exsuperantissimus* (god of Oriental origin) from inscriptions, etc.

ASSYRIOLOGY, OLD TESTAMENT, TALMUD, CABALA.

In the collection "Der alte Orient" we have to mention the following works relating to Assyriology: "The Conjurament of Demons among the Babylonians and the Assyrians," by O. Weber†; and "The Creation of the Babylonian World," by H. Winckler.†

E. Roehrich has published as thesis an interesting pamphlet on "The Code of Hammurabi and the Legislation of Hexateuch."‡ It is a good and useful book.

A. Lods has brought out a work on "The Belief in the Future Life and the Cult of the Dead among the Israelites in Olden Times."§ These are the conclusions at which he arrives: (1) The old Israelites were convinced that there was a continuance of life, that the double of the defunct continues in his tomb, or in the *Sheol*. (2) Among the old Hebrews there existed elements of a real cult rendered to the defunct. The dead are gods of a very inferior class, a sort of family, or local spirits—in short, *Elohim*. They are endowed with superhuman power; sacrifices are offered to them; they have their holy places, their sacred times; they are asked for oracles. (3) The prophetic Jahvism, a religion infinitely superior to the popular religion, has

* Neunter Band, 3^{tes} und 4^{tes} Heft. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1906.

† Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906.

‡ Genève: W. Kündig et Fils, 1906.

§ Two volumes. Paris: Fischbacher, 1906.

destroyed the old cult of the dead, and has weakened the belief of a future life which was closely connected with it. (4) The old belief in a continuance of life had no moral effect; it neither implied thought of sanctity nor hope of happiness.

J. Stevenson Riggs has brought out an interesting "History of the Jewish People during the Maccabean and Roman Period."*

E. Bredereck published in the *Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (ix.)† a "Concordance of Targum Onkelos."

Since our last Report another part of the Talmud of Babylon has appeared, by L. Goldschmidt. The treaty, *Baba Bathra*, has now appeared entirely.‡ The sixth volume is, therefore, complete (*Baba Qamma*, *Baba Me'ciâ*, *Baba Bathra*).

A French translation of the celebrated work of the Jewish cabala *Sepher ha-Zohar*§ is beginning to appear. It is the posthumous work of Jean de Pauly, whose rabbinical works we have been noticing from time to time during several years. The translation, accompanied by notes, has been gone through, corrected, and completed by E. Lafuma-Giraud. The *Sepher ha-Zohar*, or "Book of Splendour," is one of the principal sources of Jewish theosophy. It is in its actual form a collection of nineteen different works, each bearing a special title, from different authors of, probably, various periods, and apparently improved upon at different times, and having no connection with each other, except the doctrine which is at the bottom of the whole. According to Dr. Lafuma, the *Zohar* is a collection of very old fragments from the ancient *Midrashim*, partially lost, mixed up with many modern passages. According to him, it is quite possible, even

* London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1906.

† Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1906.

‡ Leipzig: O. Harrasowitz, 1906.

§ Paris: E. Leroux, 1906.

probable, that a good many of the doctrines date from the time of the teaching of Rabbi Simeon (second century) and of his school. In any case, the Zohar would be difficult to understand, if one did not agree to assign to it and in all its parts a real antiquity. What seems to be quite established by the works, of which the cabala and Zohar have been the subject, is that Judeo-Alexandrian philosophy, and particularly Philonism, have had a real influence on the development of their theosophical doctrines. The first volume of the translation to which we refer contains the following sections of the Zohar: I. Bereshith; II. Toldoth Noah; III. Lekh-Lekha. We recommend this translation to all who are interested in the Cabala. The very fact of the publication of the Zohar in the French language is in itself remarkable.

Under the general title of "Unterricht im Alten Testament, Hülf und Quellenbuch für höhere Schulen und Lehrerbildungsanstalt," Professor J. W. Rothstein, of Halle, and Dr. G. Rothstein (Oberlehrer in Berlin) have brought out two volumes* of much interest, and well fitted for propagating among the wider public the scientific knowledge of the Old Testament. The first volume includes the history of the people and of the religion of Israel from the very beginning up to our era. The second contains a selection of passages from the Old Testament corresponding to the narrative and the place of the first volume, with all the necessary explanations and indications of their sources. The authors have made a judicious selection of Assyrian and Egyptian texts, etc., in connection with the Biblical texts (stela of Hammurabi, Babylonian account of the Deluge, stela of Mesa, stela of Flinders-Petrie, etc.). The whole is very well put together, and calculated to diffuse the science of the Old Testament.

* Halle a. S. Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1907.

THE ARABIC LANGUAGE AND ISLAM.

In a very learned work, the specialist character of which does not permit us to give an analysis of it here, K. Vollers goes into the spoken language and into the written language of ancient Arabia.* This remarkable work is in connection with an important communication made by the author to the Congress of Orientalists at Algiers in 1905, and which gave rise to the Muhammadan incident.† The point in question was that traces of dialectical Arabic were to be found in the language of the Koran. The different accounts put together in the said volume are in reference to the same subject, and the question relating to the Koran forms the principal part in it. We recommend to all specialists the perusal of this work.

A good Manual, or the excellent German expression *Lehrbuch*, on the Mussulman religion—the posthumous work of the Rev. F. A. Klein,‡—has been published recently. All the essential points of the religion of Islam are treated therein: *Sources, Doctrines, the Imamate, Fiqh* (the technical term to designate the science of the law of Islam *Sects*). The five chapters include all that is contained in the Islam religion. The author took care to insert all Arabic terms in Arabic characters. The work, edited in London, has been printed in Madras.

In the *Revue Africaine* (No. 260),§ R. Basset has published a curious paper on “Les Alixares de Grenade et le Château de Khaouarnaq.”

In the catalogue, No. 8, of R. Haupt (*Der Moham-medanische Orient*),|| Seybold has, under the title of “Zur

* “Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien.” Strassburg: Karl G. Trübner, 1906.

† See our report of “The Congress of Orientalists at Algiers” (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July, 1905).

‡ “The Religion of Islam.” London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1906.

§ Algiers: A. Jourdan, 1906.

|| Halle a. d. S., 1906.

spanisch-arabischen Geographie," given interesting details on the province of Cadiz and especially on Algeciras.

In a publication entitled "L'histoire de Joseph selon la Tradition musulmane,"* J. Spiro has collected what exists in reference to the tradition of Joseph and its touching story. It is a work intended for the masses, and especially for people, who like to repeat with the poet: "Si Peau d'âne m'était contée, j'en aurais un plaisir extrême."

H. Galland presented to the University of Geneva, as *Thesis*, a work of importance on "Les Motazélites,"† the rationalists of Islam.

We are glad to announce the appearance of a new review of very great interest—namely, the *Revue du Monde musulman*,‡ published by the Mission scientifique du Maroc, under the direction of A. Le Chatelier, the learned Professor of the Collège de France, well known by his publications on Islam. The first two numbers that are before us contain the well-collated articles on Islam and Islamic questions in Persia, Russia, Indo-China, Tripolis, the Philippines, etc. There are, moreover, in each number many interesting facts and notices under the following heads: (a) Notes and News; (b) the Mussulman Press; (c) Books and Reviews; (d) Bibliography.

It is a sign of the times, which it is important to note, that mention is made in a Paris periodical of *La Revue* (the old *Revue des Revues*), which has a large circulation among the general public, the Arabic or Mussulman newspapers and the reviews.

The Museum of Tlemcen (Algeria) contains interesting monuments of Arabic art. A catalogue§ with a short description of 252 objects of the Museum has been published

* Lausanne: Th. Sack, 1907.

† Genève: W. Kündig et Fils, 1906.

‡ Paris: E. Leroux (price of subscription for the postal union, 25 francs).

§ W. Marçais, Musée de Tlemcen (Description de l'Afrique du Nord: Musées de l'Algérie et de la Tunisie), 14 planches. Paris: E. Leroux, 1906.

by W. Marçais, who, a few years ago, was principal of the Medressa of Tlemcen, and director of the museum. Marçais is the best qualified scholar to speak about Tlemcen and its antiquities.

I have myself published in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions** the Greek text, with translation and notes, of a very curious ritual of abjuration of Mussulmans in the Greek Church, dating from the times of Photius (ninth century).

* Paris: E. Leroux, 1906 (tirage à part).

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

AT a meeting of the East India Association, held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, January 28, 1907, at four p.m., a paper was read by Nasarvanji M. Cooper, Esq., on "Prospects of Indian Labour in British and Foreign Fields."* Sir Raymond West, K.C.I.E., occupied the chair, and there were present amongst others: Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Sir Charles Stevens, K.C.S.I., Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. J. D. Anderson. Mr. R. F. Chisholm, Colonel Lewtas, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Shaikh Abdul Qadir, Dr. R. T. Nariman, Mr. L. W. Ritch, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Mr. Victor Corbet, Miss Hilda Malony, Mr. A. G. Wise, Mr. A. H. Khudadad Khan, Miss C. Massey, Miss Annie Smith, Mr. S. E. Kurwa, Mr. P. C. Tarapore, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. M. N. Cursetji, Mr. Seth Hassam Jooma, Mr. George Fitzpatrick, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the lecturer, said that Mr. N. M. Cooper, after obtaining the benefits of a thoroughly sound education in India, had enlarged his mind and his experience by touring over a great part of the world, and had made observations which formed the basis of his paper. It would, he thought, be found most interesting and most informing, and would no doubt afford ample room for a good deal of reflection on the position of the natives of India, both in the Colonies, America, and the West Indies, and would also furnish ground for comparison with the unhappy conditions to which the natives of India were subjected in some other portions of the British dominions.

MR. NASARVANJI M. COOPER then proceeded to read the paper.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, it is usual that the papers read here to the assembly should be discussed by the members of the audience who desire to make observations on the subject, and no doubt several of you will desire to address the meeting. In the meanwhile I myself must express my obligations to Mr. Cooper for the very interesting paper he has read to us. (Hear, hear.) I am sure it has been a matter of enlightenment to most of us to find that Raleigh when he spoke of the El Dorado long ago was not so far out as people imagined, for the real El Dorado, with a dash of the Mohammedan Paradise, is apparently to be found at this very day in British Guiana, and for myself, if I were a young man, I should certainly feel strongly tempted to emigrate there, and set up with three acres and a cow, and be happy ever after. It evidently made a deep impression on Mr. Cooper himself, and his evidence is worth any amount of statements drawn from second-hand sources. How he ever managed to drag himself away from such a Paradise I cannot quite understand, but

* See paper elsewhere in this *Review*.

I have no doubt it was with a beneficent feeling and desire to introduce us all to the delights, which unfortunately at my stage of life I am not in a position to enjoy.

There are two or three serious observations which have occurred to me, or questions which I myself should like to put to our lecturer, and to any other member of the assembly who may be able to inform us on the subject, the most important being as to the social condition of people with reference to their matrimonial relations when they get to these colonies. For instance, a Hindu leaves India, subject to Hindu law, perhaps with a bunch of wives, of whom he may take one or two. What is their status and position when they reach our Colonies? And if the wife or wives die, what is the position when he takes another according to his Hindu fashion? Is the marriage a Hindu marriage, or is it a registry office marriage? What is the status of the people, and what is the status of their families? There appears to be in practice not quite so much care and attention directed to this very important basis of society as the importance of the subject demands.

Another point that struck me on reading this paper is that the Mohammedan coolies do not appear to be looked after by their own people with the amount of zeal and care that the Mohammedans are manifesting in other parts of the world, and I cannot but think that it would be a great advantage to the coolies in the West Indies and Guiana if some of those wealthy Mohammedans who spend money, and conscientiously spend it according to their views, in sustaining missionary efforts away in Africa, where an immense deal on the part of Mohammedans is going on, were to send a few of their missionaries to preach their own religion and maintain their own religion, which is infinitely better than no religion at all, amongst the members of the Mohammedan community in the West Indies. Something, I am sure, ought to be done. We, of course, think that it would be much better if these people were all Christians, and good Christians, but we have no right to force Christianity upon them, and things being as they are, it would certainly be a benefit to them if, within the limits of their own tenets and their own religion, they were instructed and encouraged to live moral and beneficial lives.

Another point that occurs to me on the paper is that there must be something injurious to society in the enormously greater proportion of men emigrating than women, and I should be inclined to think, without intending to lay down any rule dogmatically, that it would be desirable for the Indian and Colonial Governments to make a rule that in forming batches of emigrants a certain proportion between the sexes should be observed—say, 70 per cent. of women to 100 per cent. of men; otherwise amongst the emigrants dissoluteness is almost sure to spring up in the masses of people who are ignorant, and have many temptations in the way of apparently easy means of subsistence when they get to our Colonies. Those are matters not so much for complaint at present as for inquiry, and for efforts to be made in future to form a better basis for that large and extremely important society which our friend Mr. Cooper anticipates is to spring up in time to come, when British Guiana is to be New India under

the Union Jack. That anticipation of Mr. Cooper's may, perhaps, awaken in us some sensibility to the feeling which a good many of our countrymen feel—I do not justify it for a moment—but it may awaken us to a perception of those feelings of jealousy which have arisen in our South African Colonies amongst the white population when they see a large number of the Hindu immigrants coming in and elbowing them out of a good many of their avocations. In British Guiana and West Indies this competition does not exist. The negroes do not want to work, and they can get enough to eat without working. The white men are at the head of affairs, and they do not want to do the work which the Indian coolies do for them, and on which their prosperity, as well as their estates, depends. Therefore, we find in these countries that self-interest, that guiding star of most of us, makes the white population treat the coolies with a great deal of consideration, and that petty jealousy which exists in some parts of our dominions does not there exist. In South Africa, on the other hand, there is the idea of making it a white man's country always present, and a number of Europeans have settled there, who are carrying on the very business, and on the very same social plane, one may say, or the same economical plane, as the Indians who are imported there, and who set up as their rivals, and their successful rivals. Therefore, however, we may condemn this jealousy (and no one condemns it more strongly than I do), we can understand how it springs up, and that there should be jealousy between peoples of different races is a thing that those Indians cannot be very much surprised at, or logically complain much of, when we find that they themselves entertain precisely similar feelings towards the negroes with whom they are associated in the West Indies. There is no mixing of the races there, from what Mr. Cooper tells us. Each of them is antipathetic to the other, and from this Indians themselves should learn a certain amount of patience and gradually force themselves into their right position by showing their worth from year to year and generation to generation, until they rise in our Colonies in every part of the world which is suited to them, in the same way as I must say they have been rising through all my experience in India itself. A great deal is said about the backwardness of our Government in promoting Indians to their due position, but when I compare the state of India now with what it was when I went there fifty years ago, it is not the backwardness that strikes me; it is the astonishing progress, and that progress hitherto made on a basis which gives every promise of continuance and fruit in the future, whereas if we plunge into chaos, if we endeavour to build on purely speculative academical foundations, we shall be proceeding in the way which on numerous occasions hitherto has failed; and if it is entirely new in the particular instance, it is almost certain to fail with us, as with other experimenters in the past. I will not occupy your time longer, but I will ask any of the audience who may desire to express themselves on this subject to favour us with their observations. (Applause.)

SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE desired to associate himself with the Chairman in expressing his thanks to the lecturer for his interesting paper. The paper was mostly of a descriptive character, and scarcely lent itself to

criticism. Most of the points that had occurred to him on hearing the paper read had been already enunciated by the chairman, but there was one statement which he was unable to understand, and that was the apprehension stated to be entertained by the immigrants as to the likelihood of their being robbed of their savings by their relatives when they returned to India. The Hindu and Mohammedan working man was of a very mild and docile character. A labourer who emigrated from his own native country to a far distant land, and remained there for a period of five or ten years, was supposed to have acquired a good deal of experience, especially if he had been a successful labourer, which he would not have acquired had he remained in his own country. He could not understand how a man like that could be under any apprehension of being despoiled of his savings by his relatives at home. Possibly the lecturer had been misinformed, or perhaps the true explanation was that when the labourer went home he thought it his duty, or his relatives expected him to dower them with precious gifts; but that would be his own voluntary act. He did not think, therefore, that the accusation that the relatives of the diligent and honest labourer robbed him upon his return to India could be sustained. Then, the lecturer had dwelt rather emphatically upon the better prospects of success which a coolie had when he emigrated than an educated man; but he thought it was rather misleading to convey the notion that no educated man could succeed as an emigrant. He thought that a labourer, if he had the elements of reading and writing in him, would prove a better labourer when he went to far distant countries, and would possibly be more sure of success. If the lecturer meant to say that if an "educated" man, as they knew him in India, was not prepared to devote such physical labour upon the soil as was expected of an emigrant, no doubt he was right, but he hoped that point would be made clear. It appeared from the description of the morality of these emigrants that there was a vast field for Hindu Pundits and Brahmins and Mohammedan Moulvis to carry on the work of religion and morality amongst them, and he thought that their friends in India, when the report of the lecture reached them, would seriously set about devising some plan for sending out some of the learned men amongst them, who possibly could be spared from home, in order to teach the emigrants the fundamental lessons of morality and religion. The reference to Christianity in the paper to his mind was capable of being put in another way. A Christian missionary did his work generally in a very honest and conscientious way. He worked to convert the man of no religion, or of a religion which he considered to be inferior to Christianity, to the belief in the Christian religion; but if the lesson was not conveyed to the mind of the convert in the right way, and he only made use of his Christianity for the purpose of indulging himself in licentious practices which did not belong to him when he professed his own father's religion, he thought there was considerable room for devising some means of directing him in the right path. He would not in any sense deprecate the efforts of Christian missionaries, who, in uncivilized regions, carried the standard of religion, of morality, and belief in a Supreme Being with very great success. Then, again perhaps the lecturer would be able to inform them

how in the various colonies the better class of Indians were treated if they remained for the purpose of following certain avocations to which they were trained. It had been stated that there was room for a few lawyers and a few medical men, but he would like to know if lawyers and medical men emigrated from India to these colonies—and in India they could spare a few for emigration—what sort of treatment they would be subjected to. No doubt the treatment in all these colonies compared favourably with South Africa; but would the Indian emigrants of the better class be sure of any better treatment than had been extended to a kindred class in South Africa? Those were the observations that had occurred to him in the form of questions rather than of criticism of the paper. He was pleased to find that there was a countryman of his, especially one belonging to the Parsee race, who had travelled so extensively in the far-off regions of the globe, and who had observed the conditions of life and made intelligent notes of the manners and customs of the people whom he had encountered. He thought there could be only one feeling in the minds of all present, and that was a feeling of gratitude to Mr. Cooper for having given them the result of his observations in the admirable manner he had done. (Applause.)

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN desired to refer to the position of British Indians in the Transvaal, and the comparison drawn between that and the treatment of Indians in the British Colonies in the West Indies. There was one very important point which he particularly wished Indian gentlemen present to bear in mind, especially at a time when so much prejudice was being sought to be raised against the British Government by persons in India and in England who ought to know better. The East India Association had been fighting, and fighting successfully, on behalf of the Indians in the Transvaal, and they had attained certainly one step, and a very important step, in advance; but he did wish Indians to understand that the opposition to the proper treatment of their countrymen in South Africa was not generally an English opposition. (Hear, hear.) If the Transvaal were dominated by English residents they would find that the treatment of Indians in the Transvaal would be quite as generous as it was in India to-day, or in Demerara, Trinidad, or British Guiana. The Indians, it was true, did not compete with the English planters in the West Indies, but neither did they compete with the English colonists in the Transvaal. The opposition to the Indians was a foreign and an alien opposition. If they walked down the streets of Johannesburg they would find more Jews there than in Jerusalem. The little foreign traders were irritated and undersold by the industrious, temperate, and honest Indians, who worked at their simple trades, and were infinitely better men than the aliens in every way. It was the German Jews and the miserable Russian subjects who had fled from oppression in their own country, and who were ready to oppress anybody else in the new country to which they went. They were not Englishmen. The opposition in the Transvaal to British Indians was for the most part the opposition of Syrians, of Russians, of German Jews, and not of Englishmen.

Mr. A. G. WISE hoped he should not be out of order in referring to the

condition of Indian labour in Ceylon, and particularly to the deplorable fact that there were now in that Colony a vast number of Indian coolies homeless, friendless, and starving. They were not the labourers who had employment on the tea and rubber estates, those who were strong and able to earn a living, but what planters called "shuck" coolies, who were unable to work. From a letter he had lately received from Ceylon, it appeared that an official census had been taken of vagrants in Colombo, and that their number was no less than 600. This was a very disgraceful state of things for a British Colony so prosperous as Ceylon, which had been built up to a large extent by the labour of the Tamil coolie. He thought that in a matter of that kind the East India Association might do a great deal. It had taken up the question of the Indian coolie children in Ceylon, and he had that day received a copy of the Ordinance, which was about to be introduced at the direct instance of the East India Association into the Legislative Council of Ceylon, providing for the education of the coolie children in estate schools. As pointed out in the last report of the Governor, Sir Henry Blake, when the Association took up the matter two years ago, there were only about 3,000 children out of 23,000 receiving education; whereas there were now no less than 8,000 receiving education—mainly, if not wholly, owing to the action of Sir Lepel Griffin and the East India Association. (Applause.) They therefore saw what could be done. The Association might, perhaps, be a more combative body than had been the case hitherto. It ought to take up such a question as that of the vagrants of Ceylon. That it had great influence was shown by its action with reference to the treatment of Indians in the Transvaal. A few years ago at Hangchow, while staying with the Governor, one of the leading men in that "heavenly city" was invited to meet him at dinner, and in conversation he was astounded at the knowledge this Chinese gentleman had of British possessions. On inquiry, the Governor informed him that this mandarin had been appointed by the Empress of China to go round the world wherever Chinese labour was employed, and make reports on the conditions under which they lived. If a report proved unsatisfactory, the Government of China instructed its ambassadors to make representations with a view to effecting the necessary improvement. He had yet to learn that the Government of India had done anything of that kind. He had never met any official who had been sent by the Government of India to report on the treatment of Indian coolies in British and foreign colonies.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN said that that was quite a mistake.

MR. WISE was glad to learn he was mistaken in that respect, but he did think the East India Association might move the Government of India to inquire into the disgraceful state of things which was stated to exist in Ceylon at the present moment.

MR. L. W. RITCH thought they had learned much from the paper as to the condition of coolies in those parts of the world which Mr. Cooper had visited, and he was glad to learn from Mr. Cooper that he was well satisfied with the material welfare of his countrymen as indentured labourers in British Guiana, but it seemed to him that that satisfaction was based almost exclusively upon considerations of their material welfare. Personally, he

had found the material welfare of the coolie in South Africa not quite so satisfactory, but in considering that particular phase of the question, it seemed to him there was a little note of tragedy struck when Mr. Cooper referred to the little solitary Bengalee Baboo in the midst of his self-satisfied, contented, animal-like community—a Moses in the midst of the children of Israel—trying as it were to leaven the mass up to some higher ideal than that of living by bread alone. He (Mr. Ritch) was, however, unequivocally opposed to the whole coolie system. He had seen the far-reaching effects of the coolie system as it had been introduced into Natal. In the mind of the average uninformed man a contract for indentured labour approximated very much to an ordinary contract between employer and employé, but, as a matter of fact, it did nothing of the kind. The contract of indenture entered into by the Indian indentured labourer in India to go to Natal in no wise resembled the ordinary contract of employment as between employer and employé known in this country. First of all, the coolies were engaged under a contract which, to take the most charitable view, they did not know a great deal about, and the demand so largely exceeded the supply that in practice a great deal of not always honest persuasion was brought to bear on them. They were rounded up in batches, shipped on “coolie ships,” landed on the shores of Natal, and relegated to their various employers, with whom they had no personal contract at all. Material well-being apart, the larger consequences flowing from a contract of this character were serious in the extreme. The coolies had no status in South Africa, but became absolute cyphers. They were regarded as mere pieces of machinery, capable of doing so much labour, and not as human beings, and one could understand their employers so regarding them when they found them willing to accept conditions of service which no self-respecting white man would accept. Official returns showed that the average savings of a coolie after completing his five years indentures in South Africa were never over £20. If he desired to stay in South Africa he paid £3 for the privilege, but he still had no status. Colour prejudice is practically inherent in the white colonist of South Africa. The native black he regards with undisguised dislike and contempt. The coolie comes from India under conditions of labour that even the Kafir declines. Naturally enough he lumps both together in the same category. In the ignorance of his provincialism, his prejudice extends to the Indian free immigrant—he, too, is dubbed “coolie,” and we have “coolie merchants,” “coolie lawyers,” and “coolie doctors,” regardless of the obvious etymological inexactitude. When to the old contempt is superadded the jealousy arising out of trade rivalry, it becomes less difficult to appreciate the colonial attitude towards the Indian immigrant. This attitude of mind towards the Indian, which threatens to spread from colony to colony and contaminate the whole community of South Africa, has its origin in the coolie system under which the Indians came into the country on such degrading conditions. It has become focussed in the official attitude, and they now had a law introduced into the Natal Parliament seeking the municipal disfranchisement of the Indian population and taking away of the ordinary civic rights from those who were otherwise fully qualified, because, forsooth,

Indians who were and who had been indentured labourers in Natal and their descendants were regarded as an uncivilized race. He submitted that the whole business was unsavoury, was un-British. With reference to the remark made by Sir Lepel Griffin as to the Jews in South Africa, although he had to confess that it was largely justified, the Jewish population were not as exclusively responsible to the extent that Sir Lepel Griffin had suggested. The Jews, who were themselves but newly enfranchised, should be the last to attempt to shackle others. In the interests of the truth he must, however, correct Sir Lepel Griffin to that extent. In Natal the Jews were in a very small minority, and therefore there the prejudice against the Indian population could hardly be said to be Jewish. Nor yet in the Orange Free State, where no Indian, unless a domestic servant or waiter, was permitted to enter the Colony; but in the Transvaal he admitted with shame and regret, though he himself belonged to the Jewish race, it was unhappily true that the alien Jewish population was in many cases hiding itself behind the old Dutch colour prejudice and beating the drum of race hatred to get rid of undesirable trade competition.

MR. P. C. TARAPORE said that it was highly advisable that the economic situation of the Indian people should be viewed from aspects other than those that were being unfortunately too often dwelt upon. The lecturer's paper was useful in that it served this purpose. The speaker could not understand the lecturer's observation that there was no field for Parsees in the proposed new colony. The Parsees had made themselves famous for their industrious and enterprising spirit. The lecturer did not like the idea of Parsees taking part in politics, but the speaker saw no harm in their doing so, provided they kept their heads cool, and helped in bringing about a better understanding between the rulers and the ruled. The problem of Indian labour was a bilateral one. The speaker thought it undesirable to encourage colonization outside the British Empire. The position of Indian traders and labourers in South Africa demanded the sympathy and service of those in England who had the cause of British rule in the East at heart; the sooner their hardships were removed, the greater would be the confidence of the Indian people in the solicitude for their welfare of the British Government. With regard to the exportation of labour from India, the best principle would be to encourage the sending out of labourers from those parts of India where the local needs of agriculture did not require them. In the Punjab agricultural operations had during recent years made a great advance. A province in such a position could ill afford to spare labour for distant lands. The best field for Indian labour was the Indian soil, and efforts should be made to increase the value of labour in the country itself.

MR. T. H. THORNTON, C.S.I., observed that Mr. Cooper's excellent paper had given a most satisfactory account of the position and earnings of the British Indian immigrants in British Guiana and the West Indies generally, and their friendly treatment by the English colonists, so much so that he was surprised the enterprising Parsee shopkeeper did not appear to have found his way to those favoured regions. But, *per contra*, they had received from Mr. Ritch a very unsatisfactory account of the position, not

only of the free immigrant, but of the indentured coolie in Natal and the Transvaal, where the colonists denied the Indians, however well educated, the ordinary rights of citizenship, and treated the contract labourers more as chattels than intelligent beings; and at the same time the earnings of the labourers were far smaller than they appear to be in the West Indies.

This, Mr. Thornton observed, is much to be regretted, but the remedy was to some extent in the hands of their own countrymen. They surely had ample means of informing would-be emigrants of their position and treatment in South Africa, and the scantiness of their remuneration, and thus inducing the labourers to decline to sign indentures. If so, and the colonists found they could get no labour, they would soon see the necessity of reforming their ways; but if, after being warned by their own countrymen, the coolies still elected to contract, Mr. Thornton saw no reason why they should not be allowed to do so.

MR. NASARVANJI M. COOPER, in replying, first dealt with the questions which had been put by the Chairman. With regard to the status of the Hindu arriving in the West Indian Colonies with more than one wife, there was no special law in the Colony. If a Hindu was married in the Colony; then he could get a divorce from his wife if she ran away from him; but if he was married to more than one, then he was under the same disadvantage as in India. That was also true in the case of a Mohammedan. With regard to Mohammedan missionaries it was, unfortunately true that there were none in British Guiana, Jamaica, Trinidad, and other West Indian islands. With regard to the proportion of men to women in the Colonies, there was only 35 per cent. of women, and he thought something ought to be done in the direction, that the Government should pass some law that preference should be given to married coolies desiring to emigrate. In answer to Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggee's remarks, he could only say he made the statement as to the coolies on their return to India being robbed by their relatives from several reports he had seen, and from several cases he had heard of while in the Colonies. With reference to the prospects of an educated Indian in the Colonies, as the bulk of the white people there were Englishmen, who treated the Indians better than either the Germans or French, he thought that an educated native of India stood the same chance of rising as any white man. They had the franchise, and could possess property, and could even enter the Governor's Council. He had known one or two negroes who had been members of the Governor's Council, and in Barbados the Chief Justice for several years was a negro gentleman. In British Guiana and Jamaica coolies competed with the white population in business. Some of the largest stores and shops in George Town, British Guiana, were owned by East Indians. With reference to the starving coolies in Ceylon, he had not studied the question in Ceylon, and he could only say there was plenty of work in the West Indies for industrious men.

The CHAIRMAN: I have to thank Mr. Cooper in the name of the Association for the very lucid explanations he has given in answer to the observations made on his paper. I myself have been very much interested in what I have heard this evening, both from him and others. The only

observation that occurs to me is that as regards Ceylon, and perhaps some other places, it is quite possible that the little histories that come to us occasionally may put us in mind that there may be such a thing as an excess and an abuse of liberty given to people who have not yet learnt what to do with it, and who have not been brought up quite in the traditions and habits of consideration for those about them that is necessary as the real basis of community of feeling and mutual respect, which is the real and essential basis of every progressive and worthy community—one worthy to work and live under the noble Union Jack, under which it appears that some injustice is committed, though never with national approval, and which has been raised by people who have shed their blood to win the territory over which it floats, and make it one with a great and just empire.

On the motion of SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN, seconded by SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE, a cordial vote of thanks was unanimously accorded to the Chairman.

FURTHER PROCEEDINGS.

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at Caxton Hall on Friday, February 22, 1907, Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I., presiding, a paper was read by J. D. Anderson, Esq., I.C.S. (retired), on "Constitutional Problems in India."* There were present, amongst others: Right Hon. Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., LL.D., Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., Lady Elliott, Sir Charles Lyall, K.C.S.I., Sir Frederic Lely, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir James Walker, C.I.E., and Lady Walker, Sir Lesley Probyn, Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. Alexander Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. John Sturrock, C.I.E., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. Nasarvanji M. Cooper, Mr. L. W. Ritch, Sheikh Abdul Qadir, Mr. D. F. Anderson, Mrs. J. D. Anderson, Mr. C. A. Latif, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Mr. and Mrs. Aublet, Mr. R. H. Cook, Mr. H. Crouch Batchelor, Mr. A. H. Khudadad Khan, Miss Beck, Mr. H. A. Majid, Mr. K. W. Bonnerjee, Miss Hilda Malony, Miss Annie Smith, Mr. Victor Corbett, Mr., Mrs., and Miss Fiddian, Mr. Lawrence, Miss Cordeaux, Mr. H. C. Barnes, Miss Shales, Mr. H. Morrison, Mr. Joseph Kennedy, Mr. C. V. Vernon, Mr. E. Clements, Mr. B. Ahmad, Mr. Westbrook, Mr. and Mrs. Young, Mr. Luttman Johnson, Mrs. Slack, Miss Elvy, Miss Collard, Mr. De Silva, Mr. M. Din, Mr. Tytler, Mr. N. Ghatuk, Mr. R. Wild, Mr. E. A. Reynolds Ball, Mr. C. A. Rudice, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the lecturer, said: I have much pleasure in introducing to you my friend Mr. J. D. Anderson, who was my colleague for many years in the service of the Government in Assam and Bengal. While he was out there, and also since he retired from the country, he has given great attention to the question of the personal relations between the English and the Indian people, and to the subject which he has treated in his paper to-day. Mr. Anderson belongs to a class of public servants in India who I do not think receive the full recognition that they deserve. Most ambitious young men aim at entering the Secretariat as early as possible, and when they get in, no power on earth can get them out again. (Laughter.) They stick to their office desks, and arrive in time at the highest posts, and many of them do not get full opportunity for attaining much knowledge and experience of the feelings and thoughts of the people, whereas the district officer, who is the real working bee, does not often get his full share of the honey which he assists to provide. Mr. Anderson has been such a working bee during the greater part of his career in India, and he comes here to lay before you the fruits of his experience from his long acquaintance with the people amongst whom he has worked in close contact and amity, and he has always striven to carry out the most friendly personal relations with them.

MR. J. D. ANDERSON then read his paper.

* See paper elsewhere in this *Review*.

The CHAIRMAN: I propose to open the discussion by offering you a few remarks; and as I have had the opportunity of reading Mr. Anderson's paper, and the subject is of great importance, I have ventured to write them out in preference to speaking *viva voce*.

I think you must all have listened with interest to the paper we have just heard, and that you will be prepared to join presently in returning thanks to Mr. Anderson for it. He has chosen a subject which is of the highest importance, and though it has been dealt with recently on three occasions in this hall, when valuable papers by Mr. Gokhale, Mr. Morrison, and Mr. Sautell were read, it is by no means exhausted, and in discussing it to-day we are only acting as loyal subjects should, in response to the invitation contained in the King's speech, to consider the best means of widening the base of peace, order, and good government in India. I think that you will agree with me that he has dealt with it with much modesty, and with a genuine desire to enter into the aspirations of the educated classes in India, who claim a larger share in the government of their own country. He has treated the subject from the district officer's point of view, who knows, or thinks he knows, what can or what cannot be conceded without danger to the welfare of all classes of the population committed to his care. Now, when an officer, who is an excellent linguist, has lived for over thirty years in close communication with his people, when he has always been accessible to them, and has laid himself out specially to obtain their confidence, it is strange if he has not acquired some instinct, some flair, as to what they desire and what they need, which should render him a useful witness in the question before us. His leading suggestions appear to be two. First, he makes what strikes me as a somewhat original proposal for modifying the present system of entering the Civil Service through competitive examinations, based partly upon the experiment recently adopted for the recruitment of the navy. Secondly, he sketches out a great numerical increase in the provincial legislative councils, the members of which would be partly elected, partly nominated, and a similar enlargement of the duties entrusted to them, with a corresponding depletion of the work of the Imperial Legislative Council. He makes some other minor suggestions by the way, but these are his main *pièces de résistance*.

My own feeling on this subject is that we have reached a very grave situation in the relations between the English Government and the educated classes in India. I do not agree with those who think it is merely a temporary and passing phase of feeling, which will soon settle down again when the Bengalis find that the separation of Eastern Bengal as a distinct province has had no prejudicial effect on their national interests. No doubt that measure accentuated the discontent which already existed by affording a striking example of the way in which important changes can be made without taking those classes fully into confidence, and giving what they thought insufficient consideration to their wishes and objections. It served as the spear-head to the lance, but the lance has been rapidly growing into shape during recent years, and has now become a weapon which ought not to be neglected. In other

words, the prevailing discontent has become a serious political question which calls for the exercise of the highest statesmanship, and the assistance of all loyal and thoughtful people in both countries should be invited to help in solving it.

The first and most obvious mode of meeting the complaint that the educated classes should have a larger share in the government of their own country is to increase the number of those who are employed in Government offices. It must not be forgotten that some increase has been going on ever since 1858, and, as has been pointed out, there is no official post in Bengal except that of Lieutenant-Governor, which has not been held, and may not be held again, by a native of India. But I agree that the increase of numbers has not been going on, especially of late years, as fast as it might have done. I have always thought that the Statutory Service started by Lord Lytton might have met this want to a large extent. The mode of recruitment of this service was altered more than once while it existed, but the intention was to create a body of Indians who should be admitted to the Civil Service, to work side by side with those appointed in England, to perform the same duties, and to rise *pari passu* with them to higher posts. Its usefulness was destroyed by the ruling laid down in London, which was, I believe, in contradiction of the original plan, that its members should not rise grade by grade, as in a regularly-constituted service, but must be freshly appointed to each new post by the fiat of the supreme Government. I think it is well worthy of consideration whether the Statutory Service should not be created afresh on the same lines on which it was originally started. As to the competitive examination for the Civil Service, the points which Mr. Anderson has submitted certainly deserve attention. The root idea of the opposition to simultaneous examinations, that candidates from India ought to acquire some knowledge of Western civilization before entering the service, is, I venture to think, somewhat invalidated by the *fait nouveau* which he alleges—that at the prescribed age, and under the existing conditions, their residence in England does not produce for them all the benefits that were expected. They come to England under great difficulties, and I fear that many of them do not find an opportunity for obtaining that knowledge of English society and family life which is to be desired for them. I think more should be done for them, not only by private persons connected with India, but by the Government itself, which is so deeply interested that those young men should return to India having imbibed all the advantages which are possible. Looking to the success which has attended the Colonial Institute in meeting the wants of our colonial visitors, I long to see something of that kind established for our Indian visitors—an enlarged East Indian Association, shall I say? or a glorified Northbrook Club, with increased accommodation and completer equipment, of which all these young men should become *ipso facto* members on their first arrival in London, and where they should meet each other, and English friends who wish to make their acquaintance, in large numbers and in easy social intercourse. Some such centre is badly wanted to bring together those

persons in the two classes who now have no easy point of contact, but who do genuinely wish to meet.

If, however, the money and the goodwill which this scheme desiderates cannot be provided, then I would invite your attention to Mr. Anderson's suggestion, that the knowledge of Western civilization, which all admit to be needful, should be acquired, not in early youth before entering the service, but at a maturer age, after some experience of life and responsibility, by taking compulsory furlough to England. If this can be adopted, I think it is likely to attain the object aimed at. As regards the recruitment of Indians for such a service, the method of selection recently adopted for the navy seems attractive, but probably a longer period should elapse to test the experiment before it is transplanted to India.

If the idea of reconstituting the Statutory Service should be approved, then some such modified system of competition, combined with nomination, might be devised for the admission of Indian recruits, and those who after seven years gave evidence of special qualifications for administrative work might enjoy two years' residence in England, and then be admitted to the higher branch of the service. I cannot, however, reconcile myself to the idea of a college in India, in which English and Indian recruits should be trained together before entering the service. English youths who have passed the competitive examination in England could hardly be expected to submit to the discipline and control of such a college, unless they pass at a much earlier stage than now; and to do that would be a reversal of policy which does not seem to be called for.

But whatever system of recruitment is adopted, there should be a definite and elastic scale, according to which, in every quinquennium, the proportion of Indian members would increase, and the proportion of English members would decrease up to a figure which may from time to time be agreed upon as a safe minimum.

Turning to the proposals for the constitution of legislative councils for the province, and advisory councils for the district, I am not sure that Mr. Anderson has sufficiently met the objection raised by Mr. Morrison on a previous occasion—that the value of such councils depends on the spirit with which they are imbued. If they assembled with a desire to assist the Government or district officer with local knowledge and with fair and generous criticism, they would be of great service in improving the administration, and spreading a feeling of self-respect among those who took such a share in the government of the country. But if they assumed the attitude of an English Parliamentary opposition, and thought it their duty only to censure and oppose, without having the opportunity of showing how much better they could do themselves, then they might become a serious political danger. The Russian Duma is in all our minds when we talk of this proposal, and we have yet to learn what powers can be entrusted to the Duma, and how they will exercise them. I had occasion lately in a debate at the Colonial Institute to speak of the Travancore Assembly, which so annoyed the Dewan by putting down 800 questions that he refused to allow the debate to continue. If such a council as Mr. Anderson has sketched were to meet in a hostile and obstructive

spirit, not 800, but 8,000 questions might be put down, and considerable irritation might arise without any advance being made in the part taken by the educated classes in the government of their own country.

I have not attempted to enter into all the details contained in Mr. Anderson's paper, but I am sure that it will be very advantageous that those suggestions should be discussed to-day by persons who have some experience of administration, and can realize how such changes would work, and what effect they would produce. I am especially anxious that we should hear how the proposals in this paper strike the Indian advocates of a forward policy: whether they are judged to be wise or impracticable, whether they go too far, or not far enough. And I trust the discussion will be carried on in the same tone of deference and friendly sympathy which the lecturer has struck in his address. I have, and doubtless many others have, been much concerned at the amount of acrimony which has been introduced into many of the speeches and articles which we have perused or heard. I am sure that progress will be best attained if we start with the assumption that both sides have the same object at heart—the admission of the people of India to a larger share in self-government—although one side may desire a rate of progress which the other side thinks dangerous and unwise. I don't suppose that Mr. Gokhale himself thinks that the country is ripe for the introduction at once of all the reforms which he advocated in his paper, read before this Association; while the other side, or what I may call the official side, I believe, accept many of the items in his scheme as an ideal to be realized at some time, but not now. No one believes we can stand still where we are, nor have we stood still in the past. What we need is patience on the one part, concession on the other, and mutual sympathy and respect on both sides, and these qualities will, I hope, be exemplified in the discussion of Mr. Anderson's paper.

LORD REAY said that he had read Mr. Anderson's paper with the greatest interest, and considered it to be a very important contribution to the problem they had to solve, and he hoped other district officers would also give an account of their views in the same way as Mr. Anderson had done. Taking first the question of the recruiting of civilians, he had been much struck by Mr. Anderson's observation that the young civilians of the present day did not take kindly to administrative training, and wasted an inordinately long time in acquiring the professional and linguistic knowledge required of them, and that in some cases very able and gifted men never became really good officers. That was certainly a very serious indictment coming from one who spoke with so much authority and moderation as Mr. Anderson had done. For a long time past he had himself held the view that more attention should be given to what might be called the administrative subjects. Good classical scholars and mathematicians were not always good administrators. In that respect we had something to learn from the education given to administrators in France at the *École Libre des Sciences Politiques*, an admirable institution not dependent on the Government. At that institution the object was kept in view of equipping those who intended to enter upon an administrative career with the knowledge which would be of use to them in various departments—for

instance, finance, which might be taken in connection with political economy and the problems of land revenue. He supposed it would meet the view of Mr. Anderson if more were done for the education of the Civil Service on those lines. The entrance examination might be taken at an earlier period, and more time would have to be given to subjects connected with the administrative duties which the candidates would have to discharge.

As regards the question of the admission of their fellow-subjects in India to the Civil Service, he attached a certain importance to their coming to England and becoming acquainted with the management of English affairs and the English social system. As the Chairman had pointed out, while they were in England sufficient opportunities were not given them at present for obtaining that knowledge, but the meeting would no doubt be pleased to hear that the East India Association was looking into that question, and a sub-committee had, in a report, made proposals on the subject which he considered were very practical, and which he hoped to see carried out. But there was a further question—whether, besides having the college at Shillong which Mr. Anderson had suggested, it would not be possible to have a college at one of the English University centres to which Indians could be admitted as well as others, and where they would find a comfortable residence which would enable them to take part in the University life, and to meet their English friends. At the same time, he was not prepared to oppose the idea of the Indian college, because there was a great deal to be said in favour of it, and also of the suggestion that Englishmen should be admitted to such a college. In that case the hint thrown out by the Chairman that the graduates of such a college after having spent a period of probation in the Civil Service in India should take one or two years' furlough and attend lectures in England might be carried out. The further suggestion made by the Chairman that the admission of Indians to the Civil Service might be gradually extended was, he thought, very valuable. He agreed with another suggestion made by Mr. Anderson with regard to the paramount importance of decentralization, that there should be less central legislation and more provincial legislation. He remembered the instance given by Mr. Anderson of Mr. Behramji Malabari's attempt to deal with the question of Infant Marriages. A matter of that very delicate nature could only be dealt with locally, taking into account the special conditions of each province. But he was not prepared to say that the Legislative Council of the Viceroy should become a merely advisory body. There would always be a great many subjects, such as the Budget, which would provide work for the Viceroy's Legislative Council, and it was most important that the right should be maintained of addressing questions to the Central Government on any administrative problem having reference to India as a whole. A Viceroy ought to have the co-operation of a representative assembly for his own guidance and support. The suggestion of making the legislative councils of the various provinces more numerous was a question of great importance, which would require serious consideration. In some localities there were a number of men qualified to act as representatives, but there were other localities where

it would be much more difficult to find them. The representation of the minority was essential, as Mr. Anderson had pointed out. If ever there was a case where proportionate representation should be introduced it was in India, and there was not the least doubt that proportionate representation was practical. In Belgium it was only through the proportionate system that Liberal members were elected in the Belgian Chamber. It was quite clear that in India the Mahomedans ought to have a fair share of the representation, and no British Government would ever introduce a system in which the Mahomedans had not their proper place. (Hear, hear.) He was sure that the Hindus would wish to see justice done. That so experienced an official as Mr. Anderson thought the time had come for giving more representation would very much strengthen the hands of the Government with regard to the proposals which were expected to reach the India Office very soon from the Viceroy.

Then with regard to whether the Governor or the Lieutenant-Governor should not himself be present at debates in the Legislative Assembly, it had been always a great pleasure to him to be present, and he remembered especially the protracted debates which took place in Bombay on the Municipal Act of Bombay, an Act which had been but very slightly amended, and which had given general satisfaction. If the meetings were more frequent, knowing as he did what the duties of a Lieutenant-Governor were, it might be difficult for him to be always present, but he ought to have the right to attend to state his opinion if he thought it desirable.

With regard to the improvement in municipal and local administration, the difficulty pointed out by Mr. Anderson of want of funds was a very serious consideration, but he had no hesitation in saying that one of the results of decentralization would certainly be to give to municipalities and the district boards an amount of funds which would make it possible for them to carry out their administration under proper control. As Mr. Anderson had pointed out, efficient administration would be secured by placing their management of the funds, and the approval of their Budgets, under the supervision of the Provincial Government.

In conclusion, he wished to urge that, important as these questions of administration were, they ought not to lose sight of the fact that the development of the revenues of India was for the people of India a matter requiring constant and anxious consideration.

SIR W. WEDDERBURN said he was sure all present were glad to hear the views on this important subject of a district officer who represented the rank and file of the Indian Civil Service. He agreed with the Chairman that the district officers were the backbone of the administration, and he much regretted that their duties and powers had in late years been much restricted and reduced by the encroachments of the great centralized departments. The lecturer had truly said that the desired reforms must take the form of decentralization, and Lord Reay had emphasized this view. He (Sir W.) desired to make some suggestions, with a view to giving effect to the policy of decentralization, in respect of the district, which he regarded as the unit for administrative purposes. He wished to see our districts administered like a well-managed Native State, such as Baroda,

Mysore, and Gondal. The form might be that of a joint administration, which had been so successful during a minority, in the case of Bhavagar, where the Rājā was represented by an English civilian, his colleague being the experienced Indian Dewan. The joint administrators should be assisted by a representative council; and so long as the joint administrators and council were all agreed, they should, subject to the general policy of the Government, be allowed a free hand to carry on the progress and development of their district on the lines best suited to local requirements. Under such a system the district officer would enjoy a much happier and more useful official existence. At present he was a mere dummy, all real power being monopolized by the great centralized departments and their subordinates.

In his forecast as to the spirit in which Indians would work representative institutions, the lecturer might have made reference to the Indian National Congress, which for more than twenty years has furnished an object lesson of an informal but freely elected representative assembly. Anyone who has been present at the meetings of this great popular assembly, or who has studied its proceedings, must have been struck by the tolerant, orderly, and business-like spirit in which its work has been carried on.

MR. JAMES W. DE SILVA said that, coming from Ceylon, he was unable to criticize the paper in its political aspect, but with reference to the desirability of the youth of India coming to England to study science, the language, and the professions, he certainly disagreed with the lecturer's views that they should postpone their visit to Europe until they had arrived at a maturer age and had married. If anything was to be learnt, the earlier it was undertaken the better, and the age of eighteen was by no means too early to commence the learning of a science or a profession; but when they considered the learning of a language it was still more necessary that it should be done early, and, further, when they considered that the language to be acquired was the Court language, the official language, and the language on which, in fact, all ideas of administration were based, no opportunity should be lost of acquiring that language as early as possible. He admitted that in India, as well as in Ceylon, there were very excellent colleges which had produced very good scholars who could speak and write English fluently, but yet those very people, he was sure, would advocate the necessity of sending their children to England, the home and headquarters of that language, as early as possible. If it is necessary to acquire Western habits and customs, one must begin still earlier; it is too late to begin in middle life, when opinions are formed, and other habits and customs have got a strong hold. It was impossible for people in the prime of life to come to England on furlough, as suggested, rush through half a dozen European countries, and acquire English habits and customs. That should be done as early as possible, and they might as well shut out entirely the idea of acquiring Western habits and customs, if they did not come to England till middle life, or after they had settled down and married. Of course, the young men must be safe-guarded, but when they considered how well they had succeeded in their work and passed

their examinations, and the small percentage of failures, he thought the dangers referred to by the lecturer were imaginative.

MR. GERALD RITCHIE thought that in the very interesting paper they had listened to might be traced the effect on Mr. Anderson of a residence in Paris and a study of the works of Abbé Sieyès. The Abbé Sieyès produced many constitutions for France during and after the Revolution, and Mr. Anderson had apparently got so fascinated with his methods that he had been trying his hand on the subject, and had evolved the startling proposal of a House of Commons and a House of Lords for both Bengals. He was afraid the same objection applied to that proposal as to Abbé Sieyès's constitutions, and that it would be found not to work in practice. He was of opinion that it was best to go upon the lines of natural development, as had been our practice in England. With regard to the recruitment of the Indian Civil Service, he was entirely in accord with Mr. Anderson and the Chairman that the time had arrived for increasing the number of Indians, and that the door should be opened further so as to admit, not only those who came over to England and took part in the open competition, but to admit them partly in India. It should be a statutory Civil Service, but not on the lines of Lord Lytton's scheme, which did not succeed, and under which, speaking from experience, they certainly got some people who were not at all qualified to enter the Civil Service. He preferred the plan of selecting deputy magistrates from the provincial Civil Service and giving them promotion. It was, of course, all important that they should have a proper training, and he would suggest that they should not think so much about their training when they came in first, but that their special training should continue through their service, and that arrangements should be made by which they should have special training during periods of furlough. He would make it a condition of recruitment of the Indian members of the Civil Service educated in India that they should take their furlough in Europe, and that they should go in for practical study of administrative practice while on furlough. England and her big towns offered a wonderful field for that sort of study. Taking London alone, there were many matters on which the eyes of both European and Indian administrators might be opened very greatly indeed. For instance, they might take up municipal work in its various branches, educational institutions, hospital and poor-law administration, criminal administration, or half a dozen other subjects which would form a most profitable field for study. If Indian civil servants took them up, India would derive great benefits. Of course, on each subject civilians would have to give such evidence as the Government might require that they had spent their furlough usefully. Already many active-minded officials informed themselves on these matters, but the speaker would make it an obligation on all. Then the great bane of India—the dreadful canker that had eaten into efficiency—was the constant change of officers, and that must in some way or other be got over, whether by a larger personnel or otherwise was not for him to discuss on the present occasion. As to enlarging the Legislative Council, he could not imagine a House of Commons and a House of Lords being required for such legislation as

came before the Bengal Legislative Council. There would not be enough for them to do. There would be a vast paraphernalia for very little. Therefore he thought they must go on the lines which at present prevailed. These were very wise and sensible lines. In the advanced Bengal districts they had an elective system which was as good as could be devised, and if interest was shown, proper people could be elected. Then they had their big municipalities, and with regard to those he might, perhaps, be allowed to refer to his own experience of the Corporation of Calcutta, of which he had been chairman for three years. That was an institution which had been much criticized, and, compared with English municipalities, it failed on two points, as it seemed to him: firstly, because there was not on the part of the members sufficient pride in, and enthusiasm for, the town they had to administer; and, secondly, because of the habit derived from old Asiatic traditions of never identifying themselves with the institution they had to manage, and their eternal ill-informed and unprofitable criticism of their own officials. Those drawbacks would no doubt continue, but they were becoming less and less, because there was always a certain intelligent minority who recognized that they did not get any "forrarder" by perpetually criticizing. Still, he always felt there was a great deal of humanity about the Corporation of Calcutta, that in many respects it compared favourably with the hard bureaucracy all round them, and that it was going on on satisfactory lines. The same remarks applied to the district boards. With an improved personnel and the better training of officers, such as he had suggested, and their longer stay in districts, which would lead to a more sympathetic administration, he thought they might go on safely on existing lines. The Indian people did not realize that the public men of England laid the foundations of their knowledge and administrative capacity at quarter sessions, and county and municipal councils, and local committees, and through sound administration of their businesses or estates. He remembered, as an instance of this misapprehension of the Indian "intellectuals," on one occasion having opened a discussion at a working-men's college, where he was opposed by an Indian who talked very big about Indian parliaments, and travelling back together afterwards, finding he was acquainted with the district from which the Indian had come, he had suggested to the Indian that he should go back to India and take part in the district work there, as it was a very fine field, and an enormous amount of good could be done by an energetic local gentleman in that district. The reply was: "Oh, that is not good enough for me. Look at Balfour, look at Campbell-Bannerman and gentlemen of that class. They do not condescend to little things of that sort." To his thinking, that showed a fatal misconception. Let the intellectuals of India put their hand to the duty that lies nearest to them, the improvement of their own localities, the development of their estates and businesses, the attainment of excellence in their professions, and they would find that before long they would have as potent a voice in the government of their own country as had the statesmen of Canada, Australia, and South Africa in theirs.

SHEIKH ABDUL QADIR said he had heard with real gratification both the paper and the debate which it had elicited, because there seemed to

be almost a consensus of opinion on the one great point on which those who had been called the "intellectuals" of India had been agitating for some years, that "something ought to be done" to improve the existing state of things in India. A few years back they could not have got such a unanimous expression of that opinion from such representative and experienced Indian officials representing, as they did, different shades of political and social opinion. As was quite natural, there were various opinions as to what ought to be done, but on the main issue there was considerable agreement. They all desired that there should be a greater association of Indians in the administration of their country, and he thought the lines that had been suggested by the Chairman were the most practical and the most sensible, and would give satisfaction to most of the reasonable advocates of administrative reform in India. As to the gradual increase of Indians in the Civil Service, the suggestion that the statutory Civil Service should be reconstituted and an opening given to Indians to be appointed in India through the statutory Civil Service was a very good one, as was also the suggestion that after their examination they should be given an opportunity of a short training in England. The suggestion of Mr. Anderson that the civilians who succeeded in the competitive tests in England should have a sort of probationary period of training in a college in India was also a good one, but he sympathized with the view that the college for their training should be in England, and that that training should consist more of the real administrative work which they were to do when they got to India, with the addition of an intimate knowledge of the languages of the provinces they were going to administer. That was a point deserving of very special notice, and that knowledge was never more needed than it was to-day. There was also, he thought, a new suggestion made in the paper that there should be an intimate knowledge of Hindu literature on the part of Mussulmans and an intimate knowledge of Mahomedan literature on the part of Hindus entering the Government service. That would certainly be conducive to a better understanding between the two communities of India. With reference to the question of Indians being appointed to the executive councils, Mr. Anderson seemed to have carefully avoided that rather delicate question, and to have contented himself with the expression of the opinion that he sympathized with the objections that had been raised by a previous lecturer at a meeting of the East India Association. He thought Mr. Anderson would have done better if he had given them the advantage of his opinion on this matter. In the agitation that was at present carried on in India by what had been called "the advanced party of reform," that was the claim that stood out prominently and the point which they seemed to be most keen upon, and he thought if a concession were made to their demands in that respect it would give more satisfaction than any other measure that had been suggested in the debate could possibly give, and at the same time it would not lead to any serious harm or any serious change in the general administrative machinery of the Government of India.

MR. PENNINGTON said that Sir William Wedderburn had stolen all his thunder, and therefore he would only desire as a very old district officer—

who was never anything more than a district officer—to say that he agreed with the Chairman in thinking that the district officer was the keystone of the arch of the Indian administration, and he congratulated Mr. Anderson very much on his too modest and very useful paper. What he intended to call particular attention to was Mr. Smeaton's scheme for associating Indian district officials on more equal terms with their English colleagues.

MR. NASARVANJI MANECKJI COOPER, editor of the *Parsi Chronicle*, said that he had heard with great pleasure Mr. Anderson's very interesting paper containing many sympathetic and friendly remarks about India and its peoples. There was one point, however, in Mr. Anderson's lecture with which he could not agree. Mr. Anderson doubted whether it was a good thing for young lads to leave their Indian homes and to be plunged into the temptations and distractions of great European cities. It was true that some provision ought to be made by Indian parents to place their sons in this country under some supervision. He certainly condemned as most unsatisfactory in principle and in results the existing custom of sending youths to England to meet for the first time the responsibilities of self-government without restraint of any kind, thus subjecting them without protection to a sea of temptations at the most impressionable period of their lives. Some of these youths on their arrival at London used their newly-acquired liberty, and time and money that should be devoted to study and to observation of the best phases of English life, to starting mutual adulation societies and subscribing to dinners. But on account of those shortcomings, he did not think that Indian boys should be prevented from going to England. Youth, in his opinion, was the best time when students could mend and mould their ways; during that period character and reputation were in a great measure formed. He was of opinion that the Indian Government ought to establish in London an institution in connection with the East India Association, where Indian students could have the opportunity of meeting socially men and women of England and becoming acquainted with its great institutions.

The lecturer wrote, replying as follows :

It has been pointed out to me that I made no attempt to answer the comments made on my paper in the subsequent discussion. I was so impressed by the indulgence with which my views were received that I did not at the moment feel that I had very much to answer. I therefore merely tried to thank those who took part in the debate, and especially the Chairman, Lord Reay, and Sir William Wedderburn, for the kind things it pleased them to say of my very diffident and imperfect attempt to discuss a difficult subject. I may perhaps be allowed to say here that if any member of the Association wishes to learn more of the great school for training French officials of which Lord Reay spoke, I would advise him to procure the pamphlet* published annually by the *École Libre des Sciences Politiques* (27, Rue Saint-Guillaume, Paris), and procurable at the *Librairie Générale de Droit et de Jurisprudence* (20, Rue Soufflot, Paris). The college in question has courses for young diplomatists, Consuls, accountants,

* "Organisation et Programme des Cours et Renseignements sur les Carrières auxquelles l'École prépare." Price 1 franc.

members of the home and colonial Civil Service, candidates for employments on railways, in banks, financial houses, etc. It has, for example, an admirable course of lectures, by Mr. J. Chailley, *Sécrétaire Général de l'Union Coloniale Française*, on the administration of British India, the Dutch tropical possessions, and French Indo-China, including, amongst other matters, a detailed account of land-revenue, surveys, settlements, etc. There are also excellent courses on political economy, finance, the history of socialism, exchange, currency, comparative legislation, social economy, etc. Most of the lectures are by recognized authorities on the subjects of which they treat. No doubt instruction on most, if not all, of these subjects can be obtained in London, but not, I think, as part of a systematic course of diplomatic or administrative training. It happened that I had the *École Libre des Sciences Politiques* in my mind when I suggested a training college in India, and I was as pleased as I was surprised when Lord Reay, in his very kind and generous comments on my paper, mentioned this famous school as a model for a similar institution in this country.

My object in recommending a college of this sort was partly to secure a better administrative education for our officers, but chiefly, I think, in order to insure a common training and a common *esprit de corps* for British and Indian officials. At the Universities, I gather, Indian undergraduates are tempted to be contented with one another's society, and, except in rare cases, do not get the full value of the social and other environments of college life. At a special training college (which might be at Oxford or Cambridge) common pursuits and common courses of teaching would do much to prevent Indian undergraduates from isolating themselves from their English fellow-students.

Sir William Wedderburn complained, with much justice, that I had said nothing about the National Congress. But as I expressly confined my remarks to the two provinces of which I have had personal experience, I could not venture without presumption, and even irrelevancy, to discuss a body which itself discusses the affairs of India as a whole. If a plan could be devised (I do not dare to say that I have devised it) by which the local legislatures should furnish scope and employment for all the leading minds of each province, the National Congress would, I hope, have less to discuss.

Mr. De Silva and Mr. Nasarvanji M. Cooper took exception to what I said about the danger young Indians run by coming to Europe at an early age. I presume they do not deny that there is such a danger, but think that the benefits of early travel more than balance the disadvantages. That is primarily a matter for the parents and guardians of young Indians. At all events, as Sir Charles Elliott remarked, more might be done to render the life of our young guests in this country pleasant and profitable. Personally, I am a *swadeshist* in this matter, and think that professional training for our future administrators and lawyers should be supplied in India. But I am aware that there is much to be said on the other side, and I am delighted to learn that there are young Indians who hold that their stay in Europe has been a source of profit and pleasure.

Mr. Ritch (humorously, I am sure) paid me the unexpected and

undeserved compliment of comparing me to the Abbé Sieyès, who "early distinguished himself by the astuteness and originality of his ideas." Perhaps I took a step in the direction of "constitution-mongering" when I advocated the enlargement of the numbers and powers of local legislatures. But these legislatures already exist, and *panchayats* and other bodies for the discussion of public affairs are among the most ancient of Indian institutions. Mr. Ritch has himself presided with great success and tact over the municipal parliament of Calcutta, and I did not quite grasp the reasons which led him to oppose the enlargement of the existing legislative council of the province of which Calcutta is the capital.* At all events, I did not understand him to contest my main argument—namely, that all practical concessions in the direction of autonomy must be local and provincial, and that, some day, we must do for all Bengal what we have already done for Calcutta. I had no intention of advocating violent constitutional changes. I imagined, on the contrary, that I was indicating the most natural and inevitable course of growth of existing institutions. But, as I said in my paper, I had no desire to propound my own opinions as such, but merely to provide materials for a useful and suggestive discussion. My only regret is that (perhaps owing to the fact that my paper was read on the Indian mail day) so few Indian gentlemen were present to express opinions which would necessarily have been much more interesting than those of a retired official who has had no recent experience of Indian affairs.

On the motion of SIR LESLEY PROBYN a cordial vote of thanks was accorded to the Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN: I am much obliged for the kind vote of thanks which you have passed. I think, on behalf of Mr. Anderson as well as myself, I may say how pleased I am that the discussion has gone off so well, and that so much really valuable light has been thrown on this difficult and important question. I am sure Mr. Anderson is very much gratified with what Lord Reay has said as to the importance that will be attached to his paper by the Indian Council when they come to consider the proposals that will come over from the Indian Government.

* I only opposed the *substantial* increase of the local councils.—J. G. R.

FURTHER PROCEEDINGS.

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at the Caxton Hall, on Friday, March 15, 1907, at 4 o'clock p.m., the Right Hon. Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., LL.D., presiding, a paper was read by S. M. Mitra, Esq., on "India and the New Fiscal Scheme."* There were present amongst others: Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownagree, K.C.I.E., Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., Colonel Bowring, Colonel A. T. Fraser, R.A., Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. J. D. Anderson, Mr. R. F. Chisholm, Mr. F. H. Brown, Sheikh Abdul Qadir, Mr. J. H. Collingwood Sproule, Mr. S. Parnell Kerr, Mr. Victor Corbett, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. G. E. Ward, Mr. L. W. Ritch, Mr. F. H. M. Corbet, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. Nasarvanji M. Cooper, Mr. Bashir Ahmad, Miss C. A. Walker, Mr. S. Sinha, Miss Griffiths, Mr. A. H. Khudadad Khan, Miss Davis, Mrs. Aitken, Dr. M. T. and Mrs. Evans, Mr. H. F. Evans, Miss Nicholls, Mrs. Barnes, Mr. Murray Macdonald, Miss J. D. Westbrook, Mrs. Rainford, Miss Kendall, Miss Massey, Mr. M. Auzam, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon (Hon. Secretary).

Mr. MITRA then read his paper.

The following letters from Sir James McKay and from Sir Roper Lethbridge were read:

Sir James Mackay, G.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., writes to the Honorary Secretary of the East India Association:

"I have read the enclosed paper ('India and the New Fiscal Scheme') by Mr. S. M. Mitra. It is concise, unexaggerated, economically correct as far as my humble judgment goes, and I agree with every one of his statements. I have never seen India's case so well, or so simply and truly put. It would have given me great pleasure to preside at his meeting, but my position on the India Council prevents me from doing so. If possible, I shall attend the meeting."

Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E., Chairman of the Devonshire Branch of the Tariff Reform League, and author of "India and Imperial Preference," published this week, writes:

"March 9, 1907.

"DEAR MR. MITRA,

"I am exceedingly glad that you are going to read a paper before our Association next Friday on 'India and the New Fiscal Scheme,' and I deeply regret that ill-health will prevent me from attending and taking part in the proceedings. The subject is the one that has been the chief preoccupation of my life for many years past, and it will be of infinite interest to me to learn the view taken of it by an Indian gentleman so highly qualified as yourself to speak with authority on the question of Indian economics. . . ."

"Yours very truly,

"(Signed) R. LETHBRIDGE."

* See paper elsewhere in this *Review*.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen, I may at once say that I am in entire agreement with what Sir James McKay has written. I endorse the views entertained by Mr. Mitra, and it is not the first time that I have expressed my opinion on this most important subject. Whenever I have had occasion to speak on the question of Free Trade, and on the commercial relations of England, I have always taken into consideration the trade of India. Now I wish at once to state that the interests of Great Britain and Ireland and those of India are identical. (Hear, hear.) There is in this matter fortunately no such divergence of interest as there is with regard to the Colonies. We cannot deny that the Colonies are Protectionist—that they adhere to a Protectionist régime—and that as far as we can foresee they are not likely to abandon it, and it is also hopeless to expect that we can persuade the Colonies to adopt another system; but it is equally, as far as I am concerned, inconceivable that this country should change its whole commercial policy in order to suit the requirements of the Colonies. All that the Colonies can ask from us is that our markets should be absolutely open to them. Let me take the case of wheat as an illustration. Some of the Colonies seem to contemplate the adoption of a preferential duty on wheat by this country. Why should that be given? If it could be shown that for the expansion of colonial agriculture such preferential duty was required, there might be something to be said; but I should like to hear anyone give arguments showing that, for instance, Canadian agriculture requires a preferential duty in this country in order to expand its wheat-growing capacity. When we see the extraordinary increase in agricultural production in Canada without a preferential duty, and when we take into consideration the extreme importance to all concerned in this country that no limitation of wheat imports should enhance the market price of the supply, then it seems to me that he is very bold who advocates a preferential duty on wheat. Therefore, it may fairly be said that it is very unlikely that such a preferential system will be adopted. I know something of the agricultural situation in this country, and I am bound to say that I do not think that the agriculturist can claim Protection for his industry. It is all very well for the German Chancellor in a speech which I have read to-day to say that German agriculture requires Protection; but when we know what the results have been to the German consumer in the great towns with regard to the price of meat and the extraordinary discontent which has arisen owing to the rise in the price of meat due to Protection, it requires great courage to maintain that German agriculture—and I admit that German agriculture stands very high—requires such legislation. In India and in England the matter is very simple. The great Indian interest and the great British interest is that the producer should be able to sell in the dearest market, and that the consumer should be allowed to buy in the cheapest market. In India, if you take the average standard, there is not that degree of average well-being which exists in this country. On the other hand, anyone who is acquainted with it cannot forget that the extreme of poverty in this country is much greater than the extreme of poverty in India. (Hear, hear.) And, as you are all aware, there is an Indian lady who has written a most remarkable book,

called "The Soul Market," which gives a vivid picture of the terrible poverty which—at all events, when you go down the scale to the lowest depth of society—is only too common.

What is there stated is from the personal experience of that lady, who has not drawn her facts from Blue books, but who has lived herself in these surroundings; and nothing is more remarkable than the scenes she has depicted, for which there is—at all events, as far as I know—no counterpart in India. Take, as an instance, one very important subject: One of the worst features of the poverty here is the amount of adulterated food which is consumed. Now, in India food may be of the most simple description, but whatever it is it is not adulterated. Of course, I am not now speaking of the exceptional circumstance of famine, with which you all know the Government attempts to deal effectually, but the normal condition of India is, in many respects, without some of the worst features of our normal situation. I also concur in what has been said by the lecturer about tariff wars. You know where you begin, but you do not know where you end. This is illustrated by the unfortunate difference which we had with Russia about the Sugar Convention and the enormous duty on Indian tea (retaliation). I was speaking lately to one of the most distinguished diplomatists on the Continent of Europe, who has, perhaps, a greater experience in the negotiation of commercial treaties than anyone else, and he told me that his experience of the extraordinary difficulties which attend negotiations of that kind had led him to the conclusion that there was no alternative but the adoption of Free Trade by the various countries of Europe. Now, it is quite true that that day certainly does seem rather distant. It is quite true that the sanguine expectations of Mr. Cobden were not fulfilled, but it is also true that the prosperity of France, for instance, was never greater than in the days when, under the wise guidance (as far as that subject was concerned) of the late Emperor Napoleon III., it had adopted what may be called an approach to Free Trade with England.

Now, I think I can reassure this audience with regard to the representation of India at the forthcoming Colonial Conference. (Hear, hear.) We are very fortunate in having at this moment at the head of the Colonial Office a statesman who is thoroughly acquainted with the conditions of prosperity in India, and I have no doubt that Lord Elgin will take good care that the interests of India are properly represented at the Conference.—(hear, hear); and as regards the agenda, to which allusion has been made, it is quite obvious that when the discussion takes place in that Conference with regard to Preference, the Indian delegates will then have an opportunity—although the subject of Indian trade has not been put on the agenda—of showing what the consequences would be to India of the adoption of a preferential system of trade. It is quite true, as has been pointed out in the paper, that the trade of India with Germany is of the utmost importance, and that it would be unwarrantable for us to adopt any measure which would in any way interfere with that trade, or give Germany an excuse for adopting a Protectionist policy as regards Indian exports. (Hear, hear.)

Before I sit down I should like to draw a further conclusion from this

paper, and that is, that undoubtedly everything that the Government can do should be done to strengthen the position of India in this matter, to develop Indian agriculture, to develop Indian manufactures, and to develop Indian trade; and I will add that the Government should have the support of the leaders of public opinion in India. As has been pointed out in this paper, the man in the street in England ignores the interests of India; but what is worse is, that the Indians themselves do not seem to me to be quite aware of the extreme importance of this question to India. (Hear, hear.) I think that it would be well if, instead of neglecting this subject, it was put in the forefront of their activities in the interests of India.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is unquestionably true, as stated in the paper, that India is irrevocably bound up with Great Britain, and I will add that the defence of Free Trade in the United Kingdom is irrevocably bound up with the defence of Free Trade in India. (Hear, hear.)

COLONEL C. E. YATE said that he would not enter into a discussion regarding Free Trade, especially after the interesting address they had just had from the Chairman on that subject, but would simply touch on the question as connected with India, that being the subject of the lecture they had come to hear. Mr. Mitra had referred to the probability of Germany "wreaking vengeance on India, through her tariff, in order to bring pressure to bear on Great Britain," but he had also pointed out that the "success of India in foreign markets was more due to the cheapness of her raw materials than to their quality or kind." Now, was it really likely that Germany would try and make those raw materials dearer to her manufacturers by the imposition of fresh taxes? He (Colonel Yate) thought not. Mr. Mitra had also told them that he had been unable to get any pamphlets or books dealing with the Fiscal Question as connected with India, but he (Colonel Yate) had just been able to obtain the very book that Mr. Mitra and all others should study—namely, "India and Imperial Preference," by Sir Roper Lethbridge. Mr. Mitra, in his lecture, had largely referred to Lord Curzon's Dispatch of October 22, 1903, but he had not once mentioned Sir Edward Law's Minute attached to and enclosed in that Dispatch. That Minute went very fully into the Fiscal Question, and was referred to in Sir Roper Lethbridge's book as being "a masterly Minute on the question of Imperial Preference," and as containing "the fullest and most carefully-adjusted information on the statistics of Indian oversea trade that has ever been given to the public." The question of retaliation was fully discussed in that Minute, and, as Sir Roper Lethbridge stated, "it shows that there is absolutely not one large important staple of export that is in the least likely to be injured by foreign reprisals, so far as the facts or probabilities are known. There is not even one in which the volume of export is likely to be diminished by such reprisals. There is not a single foreign country that is really likely to think of such reprisals at all, and for most of them reprisals are simply impossible." Then the Minute proceeded to discuss the various countries in detail, and with regard to Germany it said: "Next come the exports to Germany, value 177 millions of rupees. Practically in each case their importation is a necessity for the success of some German industry in

which large capital has been invested, and any check to which would prove a serious blow to German economic prosperity." And it concludes as to Germany: "We may rest fairly assured that she could not, in her own interests, tax our exports." He (Colonel Yate) thought that due consideration should be given to the weighty opinion of a man in such a position as that of Sir Edward Law, Financial Member of the Governor-General's Council in India. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Mitra had also stated that India had suffered substantial loss from the Sugar Convention, but he had not given them any figures on that subject, and he (Colonel Yate) would like to know whether there were any statistics to show that India had really suffered such substantial loss as stated. If she had suffered so much, why had not she put a retaliatory tax on Russian petroleum, as suggested by Mr. Mitra? There was no impediment in the way of her doing so that he knew of, and if the loss had really been so great as had been represented, there surely would have been some suggestion in favour of a retaliatory tax. He (Colonel Yate) entirely agreed with what Mr. Mitra had stated about the importance of the subject under discussion to India, and as to the waste of Bengali energy there had been over the question of the so-called partition of Bengal; whereas the practical question of Tariff Reform had been entirely neglected in India. The more the subject was discussed and ventilated the better. He could not see that India would suffer by an extension of Preference between England and her Colonies any more than she had already suffered by the extension of Preference between the Colonies themselves. He did not see that India was bound to enter into Imperial Preference, or that she was not free to remain as she was. He was glad, though, that she was to be officially represented at the coming Imperial Conference. That point was also dealt with in Sir Roper Lethbridge's book, and the opening remarks of the chapter dealing with that subject were as follows: "Sir Edward Sassoon, the able Conservative M.P. for Hythe, who speaks with a large personal and hereditary knowledge of Indian commerce, aptly points out that the inclusion of India in Mr. Chamberlain's scheme of Imperial Preference will involve an important recognition of the status of India as a Sovereign State ruled by the King-Emperor. Mr. Chamberlain has from the first postulated—and all other leaders on both sides of politics have agreed—that, in such an arrangement as this, India must not be coerced by the British Parliament either to join the Federation against her own will and interests or to remain outside the Federation if she wished to join it on fair and honourable terms." He (Colonel Yate) recommended the perusal of the book he had quoted from to all present, and concluded by saying in the final words of that book: "The cause of Imperial Preference is one that should command the earnest support of every well-wisher of India," and if any man was a well-wisher of India it was their lecturer, Mr. Mitra. (Applause.)

MR. S. P. KERR (late private secretary to the Rt. Hon. Samuel Smith, M.P.) thought they would all be agreed that India was most important in any scheme of Preference which might be brought forward, and, if there were to be a Colonial Conference, that India should be repre-

sented at that Conference ; but there was one point of difficulty as regards any scheme of Preference, and that was that their Indian friends did not take quite the same view of the economic situation in India as was taken in England, and naturally enough. The leaders of the Indian party were to a certain extent Protectionists, and, rightly or wrongly, they thought that in England we were Free Traders with regard to India because it was to our interest to be Free Traders. It was, indeed, distinctly to the interest of Lancashire to keep India open for Lancashire products ; but their friends of the Swadeshi movement thought at the same time it was to the interest of India to shut out Lancashire products by an import tax. Personally, he thought their friends were wrong with regard to that. He was a Free Trader, not because of what Cobden or Bright said or did not say, but simply because he thought it was best for England and best for India and best for the Empire that Free Trade should exist.

Then their Protectionist friends said that German products should be excluded from India as far as possible because they were cutting the English products out. So they were to a certain extent. When in India, he had been very much surprised to see everywhere the immense increase in German imports. But why ? It was surely not because the Indians liked German products better than English. Not at all. It was because the Germans did things more thoroughly than the English. They sent out their men in the hot weather and in the cold and thoroughly exploited the Indian markets. The English sent out rather aristocratic young men in the cold weather for six weeks to book a certain number of orders for piece goods from the confiding Indian. That was how they got the trade, in a sort of happy-go-lucky way, and then they wanted Protection against the Germans. Again, the German manufacturers went out of their way to make patterns of cloth that the Indians liked, whereas the Englishmen said : " We send you our patterns, and if you do not like them you must leave them."

With reference to the representation of India at the Colonial Conference, they were all agreed with Mr. Mitra that India ought to be represented ; but the difficulty would be, should the representation be a native Indian representation or an Anglo-Indian representation ? The native point of view was very different ; and he was not at all sure that the Anglo-Indian view would be altogether agreeable to the native Indian.

MR. SPROULE said that, having lived for a third of a century in Ceylon he considered he had some sort of claim to take part in a discussion relating to India. He had been much interested in listening to Mr. Mitra's address, and though he agreed with most of what he had said as to the need for the representation of India in any conference upon colonial matters, there was one point that had been mentioned in the course of the paper which he would like to say a word of criticism upon. He did not want to enter into a discussion of the enormous question of Tariff Reform, but Mr. Mitra had referred to the contest between Germany and Russia, from which he had deduced the statement that " A tariff war never pays." The complaint of those in favour of some revision of the tariff system of the world was that they got *ex cathedra* statements of that sort, " A tariff

war never paid," and that "A tariff war always ruined both parties." But Mr. Mitra had selected a very unfortunate instance, because the result of the tariff war was that, in a very short space of time, it brought about, perforce, an arrangement which was mutually advantageous, and which raised the commerce of the two nations by 200 per cent. (Hear, hear.) Those who wished to see in the future some alteration of the existing state of things might be able to argue that if what was desired was really Free Trade, and not the one-sided so-called Free Trade which existed in the world at the present day, you must be allowed to have in your hand a weapon which might possibly bring about the excellent result that occurred in the particular case where a Free Trade was established between those two countries instanced by Mr. Mitra, and where the commerce of those two countries was so enormously increased. (Applause.)

SIR M. BHOWNAGGEE'S observations will appear in the *Journal*, the manuscript not having reached us in time.

MR. MITRA then proceeded to reply. Referring to Colonel Yate's criticism, he said he had carefully studied Sir Roper Lethbridge's book, and considered it was full of impracticable ideas. A great many pages were devoted to the subject of a preference being given to the wheat of India, but he would remind his critics that what Sir Roper Lethbridge considered desirable was not feasible. Sir Roper Lethbridge had an admirable idea about a preferential scheme by which a better market might be secured for Indian wheat. Sir Roper forgot that India already sent to the United Kingdom wheat worth annually over seven million pounds—more than double of what Canada sent—viz., only worth three millions. Both India and Canada are competing for the London market. Against whom should the preference be given? If it was to be a preference against Canada, that would be against the whole of the argument for Tariff Reform.

Then he had been taken to task for not referring to Sir Edward Law's Minute, but he had made a thorough study of it, and if Colonel Yate, instead of referring to the extracts published in Sir Roper Lethbridge's book, had gone to the fountain-head of information of the Minute itself, he would have found in plain English a statement that, from the information the Government of India then had, they were not justified in forming any opinion whatsoever, because they only knew that Germany took so much of certain raw materials from India, but did not know exactly what Germany did with those raw materials, and until they got that information it was impossible to say whether German industries would really be quite crippled if the supply was stopped from India. Another thing with regard to Sir Edward Law's Minute was that the Government of India's Dispatch itself was in reply to a telegram from Lord George Hamilton, the then Secretary of State for India, and it would be easily understood what a hurry there was to get the Tariff scheme through. Sir Edward Law said that exports to Russia were so small that Russia need not be taken into consideration; but Russia was exactly the country that had retaliated on Indian tea. Events had proved that Lord Curzon was more far-sighted than his eminent Minister of Finance. India had suffered from Russian retaliation. He

had the highest regard for Sir Roper Lethbridge, but he thought that great Indian official had gone beyond his depth, especially in his suggestion as to a preference being given to Indian wheat. If Sir Edward Law's Minute was read in the original, and not judged from extracts, it would be found to be in favour of what he (Mr. Mitra) had put forward. For Sir Edward Law had incurred the grave risk of disturbing the balance of trade in India's favour. In fact, Sir Edward Law advised India not to embark on a new Fiscal Policy.

The CHAIRMAN : Gentlemen, I ask you to tender a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Mitra, who has shown such an intimate knowledge of the subject. I have been admiring his memory when he can even recollect a page of the book he was accused of not having read. I rise also to make an explanatory statement, after what has fallen from my friend Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree. He insisted, and very properly insisted, that whenever this question comes up, India and Indian interests alone should be considered. I entirely agree with him. I think that it is due to India that India should have in this matter the same freedom and the same rights as the self-governing Colonies. (Hear, hear.) But when I said that the interests of India and England were identical, it was simply the result of my conviction that Preference would be a wrong policy for India as well as for England to adopt ; and therefore I hold that for the United Kingdom and India the same policy is required. I should not, however, hesitate to protect Indian manufactures, if I were satisfied that Indian interests required Protection or Preference. I wish also to add another explanation. No apprehension need be felt that the representatives of India at the Colonial Conference will not have the influence which they ought to exert. I think before you leave this room I can on that subject reassure you, and say that I believe the representatives of India will be so competent, so carefully selected, that they will be a match for the Colonial Premiers. (Applause.)

On the motion of MR. LORAINÉ PETRE, seconded by MR. F. H. CORBET, a vote of thanks was unanimously accorded to the Chairman for presiding.

The CHAIRMAN : I thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen, for giving me the great pleasure of being present here this evening, and I have listened with great interest to the speeches which have been delivered on the other side.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PRINCES OF INDIA.

MR. S. M. MITRA addressed the following letter to the Right Hon. J. Morley, O.M., M.P., Secretary of State for India, on the 28th November, 1906 :

RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR,

In your Indian Budget speech on July 20 last, you said: "I sometimes think we made a mistake in not attaching the weight we ought to to these powerful Princes as standing forces in India. . . . It is a question whether we do not persist in holding these powerful men too lightly." These are most significant words. If it is permissible for one who has spent the best part of his life in the premier native State in India as a journalist, I beg to be allowed to submit some observations for your consideration. They are the outcome of the opportunities I enjoyed for studying the part which a native Prince might take in the administrative hierarchy of the Indian Empire. I propose to indicate the improvement which such a change might effect in the relations between English rule and the peoples of India.

There are more than 600 native Chiefs in India. The native States comprise three-sevenths of the area of India. The aggregate population of the native States is 62,461,549, or somewhat over one-fifth of the entire population of India. As Lord Curzon observed at the installation of the Nawab of Bahawalpur in 1903, "the political system of India is neither feudalism nor federation: it is encircled in no constitution, it does not always rest upon treaty, and it bears no resemblance to a league. . . ." The native States "are no longer detached appendages of Empire, but its participators and instruments. They have ceased to be the architectural adornments of the imperial edifice,

and have become the pillars that help to sustain the main roof." The Indian Mutiny conclusively showed that the native States are a source of strength to England. In the words of Lord Canning, "those patches of native government served as a breakwater to the storm, which would otherwise have swept over us in one great wave." Statesmen who look ahead cannot afford to neglect the powerful native Chiefs of India. They cannot fail to perceive the far-reaching effects of the influence of native Princes. The territories of British India and of the native States are inextricably interlaced. Imperial measures directly or indirectly affect the native States, and *vice versa*. Some of the native Chiefs are endowed with no ordinary powers and responsibilities. The more the Chiefs are drawn towards the British Government, the better for the cause of peace in India. The native Chiefs, as a rule, co-operate, when opportunity offers, with the Government of India in famine, plague, and other imperial measures. The British Government can hardly forget the princely benefaction of the Maharaja of Jaipur, who endowed the Indian People's Famine Fund with a gift of £140,000 (21 lacs of rupees). The Maharaja Sindhia equipped at his own expense and took out to China a hospital ship during the Boxer revolt. At the call of the Raja of Nabha, the Sikh community contributed over £130,000 (20 lacs) for the Khalsa College at Amritsar. During the plague troubles of 1898 it often occurred to me to consider why the Government of India did not to a larger extent share their responsibilities with the native Princes, as they share the glories of the British rule. Unpleasant Imperial measures might, perhaps, be less objected to by the Indian millions if introduced through the agency of native Chiefs.

Lord Curzon, in his speech at Gwalior on November 29, 1899, remarked that "the native Chief has become by our policy an integral factor in the imperial organization of India. He is concerned no less than the Viceroy or the

Lieutenant-Governor in the administration of the country. I claim him as my colleague and partner." To have conquered India is no doubt a grand achievement, but to weld the British territories and the native States into a single and harmonious whole would be an exploit of the highest statesmanship. As Sir Charles Dilke says in "Greater Britain": "The course best adopted to raise the moral condition of the natives is to mould Hindustan into a homogeneous Empire sufficiently strong to stand by itself all attacks from without, etc." Lord Curzon, in his speech at the Delhi Durbar, bore this voluntary testimony: "The Princes of India have offered us their soldiers and their own swords in the recent campaigns of the Empire; and in other struggles, such as those against drought and famine, they have conducted themselves with equal gallantry and credit. It is difficult to give them more than they already enjoy, etc." But is it really difficult to give them more than they already enjoy? Lord Curzon admitted that the sympathies of the native Chiefs had expanded with their knowledge, and their sense of responsibility with the growing confidence reposed in them.

I must here interpose a consideration which has to be borne in mind, whether acceptable or not, in regard to all Indian questions. "It is better," says Machiavelli, "to follow the real truth of things than an imaginary view of them." No one can deny that, at the base of all indigenous social and political systems in India, lies Caste, a patriarchal communism against which the equalizing forces of the West will, for a long time to come, beat in vain. Caste represents the customs and beliefs that are ingrained in the people of India. Education and Christian mission enterprise have, no doubt, put forward trenches against the outworks of Caste, but no force yet discovered has hitherto succeeded in breaking through the stronghold which Caste has taken centuries to erect. In India Caste is the central knot of all administrative problems. No

keen-sighted statesman can afford to ignore Caste. It was an indirect attempt—though made unwittingly and with the best of intentions—to minimize the importance of Caste in connection with the plague measures that resulted in the murder of Mr. Rand at Poona so recently as in 1898. A Raja would have been a most serviceable intermediary in the intricate play of Caste frictions which ensued as a natural result of plague measures among an ignorant population. If properly handled, a Prince, even outside his own territories, would not only be a figurehead and spokesman, but actually the propelling power of at least the Caste or community to which he belongs. Of course, no one can expect ideal qualifications for such a position to be combined in one man. But no one who knows India can, on reflection, ever doubt the superiority of the claims of the ruling Chiefs of India to those of commoners, however dignified the latter may be by handles to their names acquired through Gazette notifications.

The native Chiefs easily detect the limit that separates the practicable from the impracticable. They are no framers of political Utopias. When they are reformers, they are so by reflection and not by temperament, much less by profession. In the case of native Princes, right and responsibility go together. The Congress leaders, on the other hand, want British rifles to keep the peace of the country, while they practise their statesmanship upon it. In one word, the native Princes are not irresponsible men who have nothing to lose if their political nostrums prove disastrous. The native Princes, unlike the Congress leaders, being in political touch with the people, fully realize that the logic of words does not always correspond to the logic of facts. They know that the modes of thought of the heterogeneous millions of India cannot possibly change with the indirect bidding of votes silently cast into the ballot-boxes in a distant island. In governing the millions of people under their charge, they have every day to face the medley of influences, ranging from the noblest to the

basest of which human nature is capable. The Indian Princes, therefore, look at administrative measures, not from any sentimental regard for abstract justice, but from an ordinary point of view of present expediency. The best, or perhaps the only, statesmen India has produced in the last two hundred years have been from the native States. By common consent, Sir Salar Jang, Sir T. Madhava Row, and Sir Sheshadri Iyer, are the most prominent Indian statesmen of the nineteenth century. They all, without an exception, were developed in native States. Sir Charles Dilke in "Greater Britain" wrote: "That such men as Madhava Row and Salar Jang should be incapable of finding suitable employment in our service is one of the standing reproaches of our rule." The native Prince knows that the strength of a Government is seldom increased by surrenders to the clamour of irresponsible agitation. Experience has taught him that hasty compromise between bureaucracy and democracy generally proves unworkable. That is one of the reasons why the Indian Congress has not been able to make its way into the native States, though it has sometimes tried to insert the thin edge of the wedge into them. I was at Hyderabad in 1894 when the Madras Congress attacked the Nawab Akbar Jung, C.S.I., then Police Commissioner of Hyderabad. His Highness the Nizam did not give a sop to quiet the Congress, but held the reins tighter, and raised the Police Commissioner to the rank of *Mulk* in the Hyderabad peerage. This acted as a soporific drug on the ravening Cerberus of democracy. The Nizam's Government have since been left alone.

May I be permitted to suggest that it would be well to look at the two sides of the question—namely, to consider what the English Government in England and India would gain, and what they would lose, in giving a position of utility and preference to native Princes. In the administration of British India these Princes have rarely had hitherto any voice as councillors. While the commoner in India has, under recent concessions, when elected or

nominated, the right to sit on the Provincial as well as the Vice-Regal Legislative Council, the native Prince as such, has not a seat on them. Very rarely a native Prince is nominated by the Viceroy to be a member of a Legislative Council. To those who know anything of India I need hardly say that, to the native Prince, whatever may be his religion or his race, the idea of proposing himself as a candidate for the vote of those whom he has regarded for generations as inferiors is, and always will be, most repugnant. Are the Government acting wisely in neglecting to find a place for the native Chief in the administrative hierarchy of India?

Two experiments have been made with native States—viz., the formation of (1) the Imperial Service Troops, and (2) the Imperial Cadet Corps. Both have been successful. Those institutions marked a change from the policy of isolation and distrust which prevailed in the earlier stages of British statesmanship. The Imperial Service Troops have already been tried beyond the frontiers of India, and given every satisfaction. They have proved of immense use, for instance, on the North-Western Frontier. Regular troops have been withdrawn from Gilgit, which is exclusively garrisoned, along with its subordinate posts, by the Kashmir Imperial Service Troops. The Imperial Cadet Corps gives military education to the *élite* of the landed aristocracy of India. Three ruling Hindu Chiefs and one Mohammedan Chief joined the corps of their own accord. So there are now openings for the native Princes and their subjects in military training in the cadres of the Imperial Cadet Corps and the Imperial Service Troops, for both of which India is grateful, mostly, if not wholly, to recent Viceroys. But there has hitherto been no opening for native Princes to learn practical civil administration. Here lies an opportunity for the present Government to do something for the Indian Princes, and thus consolidate the Indian Empire. No one can say that, because the Indian Princes do not clamour for political advancement, they

would not be rendered more loyal by being selected to participate in the government of the country. I know this must be a question of serious Government policy of the highest politics, but I would submit that it should be favourably considered at the present time. A Calcutta paper gave currency to a rumour that it was your intention to appoint an Indian gentleman to the Council of India. If this be true—remembering that the native Chiefs form a bulwark against any disloyal organization—there would seem to be a good opportunity for the Government to enlist the services of a native Chief rather than those of a commoner. Such an appointment would make the Indian Prince a greater personality, and thereby increase his utility as a means of communication with the mass of the people. A leader of the Congress party would hardly be eligible for such a distinction: I mean that the Congress leaders may not perhaps care to associate themselves with a body whom they denounced in unmeasured terms at the sitting of the very first Congress. Resolution II. of the Bombay Congress of 1885 was, "That this Congress considers the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, as at present constituted, the necessary preliminary to all other reforms." This resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously at Bombay on December 29, 1885. Again, the Madras Congress of 1894 denounced the Council of the Secretary of State, a prominent Congress leader affirming that "nothing worse could be invented by the ingenuity of man."

With a native Prince, instead of an Indian commoner, in the Council of India, the Government would have better guidance and help in settling some much-vexed questions, such as, *e.g.*, those of the merging of the Imperial Service Troops with the Indian Army, the amalgamation of the British Indian and the native States' Postal departments, the sea-customs in the ports of the native States of Western India, and last, though not least, the Indian currency question. On the other hand, the rulers of native States

might well be taught some practical lessons through the selection of one or more of their number to participate in the administration of the country. According to the latest census, while the population of the British territories between the years 1891 and 1901 has *increased* by 10,659,992, in the native States it has decreased by 3,613,607. Or, in other words, the percentage is +4·82 in British India, while in native States it is -5·47. These facts indicate that Indian Princes have something to learn of civil government from British administrators.

In 1876, with reference to India, Mr. Disraeli said in the House of Commons: "Touch and satisfy the imagination of nations, for that is an element which no Government can despise." In July, 1904, when Lord Curzon was presented with the Freedom of the City of London in the Guildhall, he said: "Depend upon it, you will never rule the East except through the heart, and the moment imagination has gone out of your Asiatic policy your Empire will dwindle and decay." At the State banquet at Jaipur in November, 1902, Lord Curzon said: "I have sought and obtained their [native Chiefs'] co-operation and advice. I have often recapitulated the benefits which, in my view, the continued existence of the native States confers upon Indian society. . . . They have that indefinable quality, endearing them to the people, that arises from their being born of the soil." The imagination of the millions of India can hardly be touched or satisfied more strongly or practically than by the sight of one or more of their native Chiefs elevated to a high position in the Council of India, which deals with the administration of their native country; and a practical alliance like that will be an object-lesson to Russia and other rival Powers.

Other schemes have been and may be suggested for the association of Indians with the Government of India. The idea of officering one province with Indians exclusively has been put forward, but it is open to obvious objections. My proposal has some resemblance to Lord Lytton's

proposal "to admit great Indian magnates to our Legislative Councils under conditions" (p. 20 of vol. ii. of "Personal and Literary Letters of the Earl of Lytton") and is consistent with his Lordship's idea of an Imperial Privy Council for native rulers. The present proposal, being limited in its operation, would be practicable. For the convenience of native Princes, and to give a rotation of representatives, the term of office for native Princes called to England to join the Council of India might be fixed at two years, with the possibility of one renewal, and it might be arranged for these honorary councillors to attend meetings of the Council for portions of the year only. Considering that such questions as the Afghan War or the annexation of a province, or any matter marked "Secret" in India, do not usually come before the Council, and that the members not only have no powers of interference, but have, as a rule, no recognised means of obtaining information in regard to such subjects other than those of the general public, there is no fear of any secret being divulged.

I only desire to add, in offering these suggestions as a contribution to the determination of a question of Imperial policy, that I hold no brief whatever for any individual or class of native Princes of India. As the subject of this letter is one of public interest and policy, I propose to publish it, if there is no objection to such a course.

THE IMPERIAL EXHIBITS AT THE MILAN EXHIBITION.

Although the British Section of the Milan Exhibition, owing to the dilatoriness of the Government, was got under way very late, its organizers not only brought together a very fine display of home products, but also succeeded in enlisting co-operators from different parts of Greater Britain, whose share, almost wholly ignored by the papers, has been remarkably large under the circumstances.

Canada, soon following the lead of the Mother Country, put up a court of her own, pronounced on all hands to be

one of the best in the whole show. Here a fine hall, whose striking scheme of decoration with golden grain on a red ground was enhanced by evergreens, coloured photographic transparencies, bunting, etc., formed the setting to a wonderfully rich collection of mineral and other products. The mineral specimens—which included gold, silver, copper, nickel, cobalt, antimony, zinc, lead, manganese, quicksilver, mica, asbestos, corundum, marble, alabaster, granite, porphyry, jasper, garnets, and agates—occupied the body of the hall, and the remainder was distributed among recesses at the sides. The largest contained a group of fur-bearing and other wild animals, comprising Polar and grizzly bears, bisons, reindeer, beavers, ermines, sables, foxes, etc., while preserved provisions of all kinds, timber, cereals, flour, fruit, and various other things were set forth to the best advantage in the smaller ones. The Dominion gave the finishing touch to the British Section, as it added natural products to the manufactured articles met with elsewhere.

Next in importance to those of Canada, though on a much smaller scale, were the contributions of India. The Damascene work, engraved, embossed, and enamelled brass ware, and artistic pottery of the Jaipur School of Art, were such as to deserve a "grand prix," an award of the highest class, and a "diplôme d'honneur," that next to it. Mr. Bulchand Karamchand, of Hyderabad, in Sind, obtained both a gold and a silver medal for his embroidery, metal work, etc.; Mr. Dulabhdas Ghelabhai, of Bombay, received a gold medal for an ornamental screen in ebony and satin-wood, and Messrs. Girdhard Das and Hari Das, of Benares, a silver one for their gold and silver brocades. Messrs. H. P. Setna's chutnies and other preserved provisions, from Bombay, were awarded a "diplôme d'honneur"; Mr. F. J. Hill's fancy teas, from the Kodanaad estates in the Neilgherries, a gold medal; the Kashmir Durbar's samples of cocoons and raw silk, from Srinagar, and Messrs. Allibhoy Vallijee and Sons' enamelled metal despatch boxes, from Mooltan, silver medals.

A "grand prix" was carried off by Messrs. P. P. Borg and Co., of Valetta, for Maltese lace; one for whale and other oils by Messrs. Job Brothers, of Newfoundland; a "diplôme d'honneur," by Messrs. Daniel Finzi and Co., of Kingston, for Jamaica rum and West Indian cordials; and a silver medal by the West African Trades Association for palm oils, cocoa, coffee, etc. The Government of New South Wales, too, exhibited a collection of photographs illustrating the industries of the colony, and was awarded a "bon mérite" certificate of the very highest class.

But there is a further distinction of great value which has been secured by Britain overseas, and has been overlooked by the Press in England. This is the solid gold medal given to the Messrs. Pertile and Co., of Singapore, for the services rendered by them to the rubber trade. The Chamber of Commerce at Milan had asked the Exhibition juries to bestow the medals upon those considered to be the greatest contributors to the progress of each section; and while the Hon. C. A. Parsons received one in the Marine Court, this was the only other obtained by any person within the King's Dominions.

R. G. CORBET.

MALTA—THE PRINCIPLE OF BRITISH RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Malta having protested against allowing a Protestant missionary to deliver a series of Evangelical addresses in a public hall belonging to the Government, a correspondence took place between the Archbishop and the Governor of Malta, and questions were raised in the House of Commons. This led to a despatch from Lord Elgin, the Secretary of State, to the Governor, dated August 15, 1906, and presented to Parliament in September last, in which Lord Elgin has clearly and distinctly indicated the principle of religious liberty which ought to be maintained in every country and region over

which the British Government has control. The following are the exact terms of Lord Elgin's despatch :

"It being Our intention that all persons inhabiting Our said Island should have full liberty of conscience and the free exercise of their respective modes of religious worship, We do hereby require Our said Governor and Commander-in-Chief to permit all persons within Our said Island to have such liberty, and to exercise their respective modes of religious worship, provided they be contented with a quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the same, not giving offence or scandal to the Government.

"His Majesty's Government trust that the people of Malta, recognising the principle of toleration which inspires the decision conveyed in this despatch, will accord to the public ceremonies of other Churches and denominations the same respect as to those of the Roman Catholic Church. If, however, disturbances should be caused by evil-disposed persons, they must, of course, be repressed, if necessary by the whole power of the Government, and the persons causing them dealt with in accordance with law ; but His Majesty's Government earnestly hope that you will be confronted with no such necessity in carrying out a policy based on the fundamental principles of British liberty."

Since the above dispatch of Lord Elgin the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Malta presented a communication to the King, in which he said : "In my capacity of Bishop of this diocese, and consequently the spiritual head of the whole island, . . . no severer blow can be struck at the religious and civil sentiments of this population, which has ever been most loyal to the Crown, than the approval of the proposed clause regarding the liberty of religious worship in this island." To which the following reply was made through the Secretary of State : "I am commanded by His Majesty to state that he has been pleased to give no directions thereon (*i.e.*, the memorial or communication to His Majesty), inasmuch as there is nothing in the Additional Instructions now passed under the Royal Sign Manual and

Signet in any way inconsistent with the full protection of their religion, which has always been enjoyed by the Roman Catholics of Malta" (Malta: further correspondence presented to Parliament December, 1906). This principle of religious liberty is maintained in all British possessions.

THE CHINESE OPIUM EDICT.

This edict abolishing the use of opium was issued on September 20. The Council of State Affairs was commanded to draft regulations giving effect to the Imperial decree. These have been approved by the Council of State, and received the Imperial sanction on November 21 last. The following is the text of the regulations referred to :

"1. Not only the cultivation of the poppy but the use of opium must cease within ten years. No new ground can be placed under cultivation, and ground under cultivation must be restricted by one-tenth annually. If the regulation is evaded, the ground can be confiscated. Rewards will be given if the abolition is completed earlier.

"2. Some 30 to 40 per cent. of the Chinese use opium. Everyone who uses it must be registered either at the Yamên or with the village headman. The amount consumed must also be registered. No one can buy opium unless he is registered. No one will be permitted to begin the use of opium after the issue of these regulations.

"3. This provides for the method of decreasing the use. Those above sixty years of age are leniently treated ; those under sixty must decrease their use 20 per cent. per annum. If this regulation is evaded, punishments will be inflicted. For example, magistrates will be cashiered and scholars deprived of their degrees. Those who at the end of ten years are still addicted to the use of opium will have their names posted in public places.

"4. Shops selling opium will be closed gradually. All opium dens where opium is smoked will be compulsorily closed within six months. Neither wineshops nor inns can allow smoking on the premises. Persons who sell smoking requisites—pipes, lamps, etc.—must cease to do so within one year. The taxes now collected on opium lamps must not be collected after one month from the date of issue of these regulations.

"5. All opium shops and everything connected with the trade must be officially registered and gradually closed, and no new shops will be allowed to open. No one can buy opium without presenting a ticket of registration. Shops must present an annual statement showing a decrease of sales. If this regulation is evaded, the shops can be confiscated with all their contents and their owners punished.

"6. Officials must arrange to distribute among people addicted to the use of opium either prescriptions or medicines counteracting the use at cost price or gratuitously. No prescription thus given shall contain opium, morphia, or opium ashes.

"7. Anti-opium societies must be established to exhort the discontinuance of the use of the drug. Such societies, if already working, must receive official encouragement and support.

"8. Officials and gentry are ordered to give mutual help in enforcing the regulations. Reports must be furnished to the Council of State Affairs. Officials who have fully carried out the regulations will be rewarded.

"9. Officials must set an example. Officials above sixty years of age whose cravings are great must be treated leniently. All high officials, Princes, Dukes, Viceroys, and Tartar Generals under sixty must not screen themselves, but must inform the Throne that they are willing to cease their use of the drug within a certain time. During that time they can have a substitute. When they are cured they can resume their duties. All other officials under sixty, no matter how great their craving, must abandon the use within six months. If unable to discontinue the habit, they can retain their rank, but must retire from office. But those who falsely pretend to abandon the habit and continue the use of opium secretly will be deprived of both rank and office. All teachers, scholars, soldiers, and sailors throughout all ranks will be allowed three months wherein entirely to abandon the habit.

"10. The Wai-wu-pu is commanded to approach the British Minister with reference to the annual reduction of opium imported, so that the importation may be ended within ten years. Since opium is also imported from Persia, French Indo-China, and the Dutch colonies, the respective Ministers must also be approached, but in the case of non-treaty Powers, China will act independently. Strict regulations must be enforced against the smuggling of opium. Morphia and hypodermic syringes for its use being even more injurious than opium, therefore Article 11 of the Mackay Treaty of September 7, 1902, and Article 16 of the American Treaty of October 8, 1903, must be given effect to, and the manufacture of morphia in China forthwith prohibited, whether by Chinese or foreigners.

"11. The Viceroys and high officials must forthwith issue proclamations throughout the Empire embodying the foregoing regulations."

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.

I. *Early Chinese History: Are the Chinese Classics forged?* By HERBERT J. ALLEN, F.R.G.S. If anyone wishes to know all that the Chinese themselves have to say about the destruction of the classics and their gradual recovery, almost all the necessary information is to be found in Professor Chavannes' *Mémoires Historiques* (introduction), five volumes of which have already been noticed in the ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW. Moreover, Professor Chavannes deals critically with the authors of the *Mémoires* themselves; with the unearthing of buried documents; the questions of writing, paper, printing, etc.; the rival calendars and their discrepancies in dates, and so on. The Chinese themselves are absolutely the sole authorities touching their own early history and records; but the Western public is so profoundly ignorant of Chinese antiquity that any eccentricities may be confident of a hearing, or at least of a publisher. One instance of Mr. Allen's methods will suffice: he thinks that the well-known work of Mencius, which is commonly eponymously called "Mencius" (*Mêng-tsz*), was probably forged (three centuries after his supposed existence) by Sz-ma Ts'ien (100 B.C.), joint author with his father of the *Mémoires Historiques*; and that Sz-ma Ts'ien, who is stated by himself to have travelled over a great part of China, and who was (in Mr. Allen's opinion) a Buddhist (150 years before Buddhism was officially heard of in China), may have fraudulently manufactured the personal name "*Mêng-tsz*" out of the place-name "*Mêng-tsz*," now (after 2,000 years) a modern treaty-port near the French frontier in Tonquin! Now, apart from the fact that the vowels in the two distinct words *Mêng* are etymologically different, and are only the same in a few dialects even now; apart from the fact that the initials in the

two words *tsz* are also essentially different, and are even now different in different dialects; apart, also, from the fact that the region in Yün Nan province where Mêng-tsz is never was really settled by Chinese colonists at all before Kublai Khan's time, about A.D. 1260; that it was ultra-barbarian and ruled by Siamese Kings; and that the syllable *Mêng* really represents the Shan word *muong* ("country" or "region"), still applied to all place-names thereabouts, it is certain that Sz-ma Ts'ien never visited that remote region at all. Mr. Kingsmill has suggested a Sanskrit origin for the Confucian classic of the Odes; Mr. Herbert Giles has expressed his opinion that the Taoist work of Lao-tsz is a forgery (and forged 200 years *after* we are told by the dynastic historians a dozen times over that the Chinese Empress actually had a copy in her hands). Mr. Herbert Allen now goes one step further, and expresses the opinion that Sz-ma Ts'ien practically forged nearly the whole classical literature of China! If so, whence did he acquire the literary art at all? It is like saying that Newton invented the Ptolemaic system in order to have the glory of disproving it. Mr. Allen's book is, to crown all, dreadfully unreadable; it is, in short, impossible from beginning to end, with scarcely an orthodox line in it.

E. H. PARKER.

THE CLARENDON PRESS; OXFORD.

2. *The English Factories in India, 1618-1621*: A Calendar of Documents in the India Office, British Museum, and Public Record Office, by WILLIAM FOSTER. This is a continuation of the "Letters received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East, 1602-1617," and is a calendar of the MSS. relating to the English factories in India, gleaned from the India Office, the British Museum, and the Record Office MSS., the majority of which have not been printed hitherto.

Mr. Foster contributes an elaborate and scholarly historical

introduction illustrating the current of political events during the period covered by the MSS. The English factories in 1618 in Mogul Hindustan were five in all—Agra, Ahmadabad (under the charge of John Browne, the earliest of Anglo-Indian versemakers), Barhampur, Broach, and Surat, which was the oldest and most important settlement. Sir Thomas Rowe, the English Ambassador, had plenary powers over them all until he left for England in 1619, having obtained the important *farmān* from Jehanqir which gave the English many privileges. The factories of the south in Coromandel were under the direction of the "president" at Bantam.

In 1618 there was an attempt to revive the trade with Mokha, which at first was partially successful, but the opposition of the Surat merchants was too strong.

The unsatisfactory position of the Surat factory fills much of the correspondence, and it was not until 1619 that the arrival of Jamshed Beg as governor restored comparative peace to the English. The trade in the Persian Gulf brought the English into renewed conflict with the Portuguese, and the Dutch influence spread widely in India after 1616, when Roc wrote, "The Fleminge is planted at Suratt," and continual wars and conflicts occurred between them and the other two European nations. The Danish East India Company was also making a high bid for the Eastern trade, and in 1620 obtained Tranquebar, and all the complicated quarrels or alliances mentioned in the letters themselves are well elucidated in the introduction. We find much that is noteworthy in the accounts of the condition of India at the time the quaintly-worded letters were written, and it is worth quoting that "their justice is generally good to strangers." We wish we were able to notice at length the lists of imports and exports, for instance: silk "as it comes from the worme," spices, "semians," and corals, "much spent to burne with the dead"; but want of space prevents this, interesting though they are.—A. F. S.

EVERETT AND CO.; LONDON, 1906.

3. *The Life of Sir Richard Burton*, with sixty-four plates, 2 vols. in 8vo., by THOMAS WRIGHT. All who knew Sir Richard Burton personally have retained an imperishable remembrance of this extraordinary man, so remarkable for his high intelligence, his force of will, his linguistic gifts of the first order, and his faculty of assimilation. I had the privilege to be in close relations with him during the winter that he spent at Geneva in 1888, and I shall never forget the conversations we had together. Thanks are due to Mr. Wright for having written a Life so full of interesting details of this attractive and imposing personality. Numerous illustrations, among which are a great number of portraits (several excellent ones of Burton), add to the interest of this authoritative work. It is impossible to give even a condensed analysis of the biography, as the career of Burton has been so full of movement, and there is scarcely a part of the world through which he has not travelled or which he has not visited. His travels to Mecca and to Tanganyika surpass in interest all his other peregrinations.

One of the most curious points of which Mr. Wright treats in his work is concerning John Payne's connection with Burton, and the comparison of the translation of "One Thousand and One Nights" of the one with the other. Wright well says: "Burton is the magnificent man of action and the anthropologist, Mr. Payne the brilliant poet and prose-writer. Mr. Payne did not go to Mecca or Tanganyika; Burton did not translate the "Arabian Nights."

When reading these incisive revelations of Wright on this delicate subject, I could not help thinking with some sadness of a certain afternoon when Burton read out to me fragments of his translation, which made me remark how near the Arabic text it was, and without sacrifice of the correctness and elegance of the English language.

Wright's judgment on the religion of Burton seems to me a correct one. He says: "The journey to Mecca

practically turned him into a Mohammedan. At the time of his marriage he called himself an Agnostic. From that time (1880, his *Kasidah*) to his death he was half Mohammedan and half Agnostic." When I knew Burton in 1888, I took him for a Mussulman whose convictions were modified by Agnosticism.

We cordially recommend the perusal of Wright's work to all those who wish to know the eminent Englishman who was Sir Richard Burton. There is much to learn in this biography by his countrymen and by others.

E. MONTET.

FRATELLI TREVES; MILAN, 1906.

4. *La Battaglia di Mukden*, by LUIGI BARZINI. The name of the author figured in this *Review* over a year ago.* His unusual insight into Japanese ways had enabled him to offer a remarkable explanation that has subsequently been borne out by the notorious incident with regard to the treatment of Orientals at San Francisco, of the disturbances at Tokyo provoked by the Treaty of Portsmouth; and at the same time that an abstract of his views appeared mention was made of the fact that he was preparing a volume on the Battle of Mukden, at which he had been the only European newspaper correspondent on the Japanese side. This work, completed by secret documents and plans received from the Japanese authorities, and by photographs taken during the battle, has now been published. A preface tells the reader that he must not expect the conclusions of a military expert, but merely the personal recollections of a journalist. The book itself does more than this disclaimer would lead one to look for, since it gives a very clear idea of the whole fight. It is rendered eminently readable, moreover, by its pleasant, natural style—incomparably preferable to the transparent artificiality of De Amicis, with whom Barzini has unjustly

* January, 1906.

been compared—and by the author's success in lending interest even to the smallest details. With these he shows a perfectly surprising acquaintance. He can tell us, for example, the name of the sergeant who cut a way through the wire entanglements before Lochiantun ; of the private, over twenty miles off, who bore the last request for reinforcements from Likampu, etc. His characters, too, appeal to us as living beings, and he creates in us a feeling of anxiety as to their fate, of pleasure at their success, or of disappointment at their failure. His tale follows the fortunes of the battle from the extreme right to the far end of the opposite flank, 106 miles away : Kawamura's attack upon Machuntan and Tita, Kuroki's efforts in the "Infernal Valley," Oku's bombardment and capture of Putiloff, Nodzu's advance from the Sha-ho to the Hun, Nogi's turning movement, and other principal features, are successively passed in review. Each of the parts affords the author opportunities of weaving episodes and reflections into his narrative. He stops to examine such things as the curious indifference bred among those under fire, the barbarity of certain weapons sanctioned by international usage, the complexity which renders a battle indescribable, and the state of mind that has induced Russian soldiers to wreak vengeance for their defeat upon a figure of Buddha. Or he turns aside to glance at the perplexity caused the military *attachés* by the mysterious movements of the Japanese bodies, the means adopted to stop the barking of the dogs in the Chinese villages, the great share played by sappers in the battle, the admiration shown by the Japanese for instances of Russian valour, the working of the siege guns that eventually broke down the resistance of Putiloff Hill, and a number of other particulars of the most varied kind. These parentheses break up the instructive story of almost incredible heroism and endurance he has to tell—whose lessons, by the way, should be very seriously taken to heart in the West—and prevent the attention from ever flagging. Fifty-two instantaneous photographs, many of

them taken under fire, add to the interest of the book, which may be warmly recommended to all who read Italian.—R. G. C.

ALFRED HOLDER ; VIENNA, 1906.

5. *Buch des Rāgāwan, der Königsgeschichte*, by P. W. SCHMIDT, S.V.D., Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences at Vienna. The Mon or Mun is an ancient literary tongue of which hardly any specimens have hitherto been brought to Europe. Manuscripts are rare even in its native Pegu, moreover, owing to their wholesale destruction by the Burmese and to the rigour of the decrees issued by the conquerors against all who should speak the language or teach it in the Buddhist monasteries. The text edited by Professor Schmidt is the first ever published in the West, where the printed characters, too, appear for the first time. It has been taken from a palm-leaf MS. received from Mr. H. L. Eales by Mr. C. O. Blagden, the well-known Orientalist, who passed it on to Herr Schmidt, and obtained for him, through a young native of Pegu in London—Mr. Ohn Khin—the translation into Burmese of a number of Mon words, afterwards retranslated into English by Professor Rhys Davids. What with these and with Pali passages in the text explained in Mon, Dr. Schmidt has been able to couple with it a glossary of terms wanting even in Stevens' edition of Haswell's vocabulary, thus doubling the obligation conferred upon Orientalists. A detailed description of the MS. is given in the introduction. The text follows, with the transliteration below and the translation opposite, all three numbered in the same manner to facilitate comparison and reference; plentiful notes, too, have been added throughout. After the text comes a glossary, with a list of words whose meaning remains unknown; and the book concludes with an *errata-corrige*, compiled with the assistance of Dr. K. E. Neumann and Mr. Blagden. The "*Rāgāwan*" itself consists of a prologue, the life of Buddha, and the story, interspersed

with other legends, of his relics, the chronicle of the Kings of Hāsāwatī, and an epilogue moralizing upon it. Earthquakes, eclipses, and the like, during the different reigns, are not forgotten, but the gifts of the Kings to Buddhism are the aspect given the greatest prominence. Now and then an incident is amplified: that of Bhdradewī, for instance, whom elephants refused to trample under foot or fire to burn for her devotion to the images of Buddha, and who converted the heretical monarch Tissarājā, with the further result that she was appointed his chief wife; of Badhirājā, who would have lived till eighty-five if he had gone on building pagodas, etc., as he had done at first, but died in the jungle at twenty-eight because he preferred to amuse himself; or of Bañā Barow, who, wishing to give all his subjects that happiness which they had failed to attain to in previous reigns, issued and carried out a draconian edict punishing all offences with death, and thus completely abolished lawlessness in the land. Professor Schmidt, who compares the dates referring to Buddha with those given by Bigandet, and those in the historical part with Phayre's (on "The History of Pegu," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. xlii., 1, p. 32), points out that the chronology becomes more precise towards the end, where not only days, but even hours and their fractions, are specified. The "Rāgāwan," it may be added in conclusion, is not the only Mon MS. extant in the libraries: the learned editor speaks of four others unearthed in London by Mr. Blagden, and surmises that there may be more, wrongly classified as Burman, like two of these. He suggests that they should be sought out, especially in British collections, that a catalogue of those in the Bernard Free Library at Rangoon should be published, and that searches for others in unexplored districts (Forchhammer, by the way, states that the region between Syriam and Prome has alone been examined) should be undertaken before it is too late.—R. G. C.

INDIA GOVERNMENT PRINTING DEPARTMENT; CALCUTTA,
1906.

6. *Occasional Reports, No. 4, under the Director-General of Education in India, 1906.* This valuable volume contains the Reports of Commissioners sent by the Government of India to examine the methods of teaching English in Germany, the educational studies at the St. Louis Exposition, and the physical laboratories in Germany. Mr. J. Nelson Fraser, Professor of English Literature, Deccan College, Poona, ably describes the objects, the several systems of teaching English in Germany, the text-books used, examinations, and a comparison of the several methods adopted in Germany with those in India. Mr. Sharp, late Inspector of Schools in the Central Provinces and now Director of Public Instruction in Eastern Bengal and Assam, reports the results of his visit to the Exposition in St. Louis in May, 1904, and his attendance at meetings of the National Educational Association. He minutely describes whatever appeared to him of most interest as bearing, by comparison, the system and methods of teaching adopted in India. His report, in addition to instructive appendices, describes the methods of teaching which are adopted—drawing as a mode of expression—and reforms in teaching modern languages for commercial and other special purposes. G. W. Kücher, Professor of Physics, Presidency College, Calcutta, in his report treats on the physical laboratories in connection with the principal Universities, colleges, schools, and other seminaries in Germany. It is accompanied with plans of laboratories and a glossary of terms occurring in those places. The whole volume is of supreme value to the higher classes of educationalists everywhere, and reflects much credit on the Government of India who appointed these able commissioners with the view of promoting education in all its branches in India.

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER AND CO., GERRARD STREET, SOHO; LONDON, 1906.

7. *Gods and Heroes of Old Japan*, by VIOLET M. PASTEUR. Decorated by ADA GALTON. The short stories of this volume are taken from the "Sacred Writings and Ancient Histories of Japan." The early legends are mythological; the latter are said to be historically true, and the incidents are genuine, the last two stories corresponding to the English age of chivalry—the age of the bow—the time of Agincourt and Crecy. They relate to the way of the gods, the making of the mirror, the finding of the sword, fire-Shine and fire-Fade—the hero Yamato-Daké, the Good Emperor, the perfect knight, and the loyal Samurai. The tales are simple and well told, all having a tendency towards the worship of ancestors and the fearlessness of death. The "make-up" of the book is admirable, and the decorations, or illustrations, are exquisitely executed, reflecting great credit on the designer, the printer, and the decorator.

8. *Treatise of the Exalted One on Response and Retribution*. Translated from the Chinese by TEITARO SUZUKI and DR. PAUL CARUS. This is a modern popular work of the later or corrupt Taoist type, and bears much the same relation to Lao-tsz's orthodox philosophy as given in the celebrated Taoist classic that a Unitarian or Nonconformist children's catechism (if there be such juvenile works) might be supposed to bear to the New Testament. In his introduction Dr. Carus borrows a few true words from the late Alexander Wylie's *Notes on Chinese Literature*, to the effect that "many millions of devout Chinese believe that great merit is gained by the dissemination of the book"; but Wylie say nothing about "devout," and devout Chinese are somewhat of a myth. In some respects this *Treatise* resembles a commination, or a series of denunciations of evil-doers, rather than a work of piety or religion; and with its popular style it can hardly be said to belong to the recognised literature of

China at all—in fact, it does not appear to be ever quoted, as the true Confucian, Taoist, and Buddhist writers (from all of which it borrows) are, in the great modern thesaurus known as the *P'ei-wên Yün-fu*. Still, Stanislas Julien, a generation or more ago, gave it a respectable status in Western lands by taking the trouble to translate it, and Dr. Carus is entitled to great credit for faithfully reproducing the whole Chinese text of about 1,300 words, together with ingeniously tabulated English translations of each word, so arranged that even those totally ignorant of Chinese can at once observe the exact sequence and meaning of each individual ideographic character. There are no misprints or mistakes in the Chinese text, but certain irregularities in the romanization of Chinese sounds seem to indicate that Dr. Carus has not had much practical acquaintance with the Peking dialect into which the sounds are rendered; nor is the book free from more general slips and misprints—for instance, 1839 (p. 8) for what must surely be 1889, in reference to Dr. Legge. Still, the native maxims of the book itself, and the painstaking, lucid treatment accorded to them by Dr. Carus, are entitled to high respect, and it is therefore not necessary to cavil too often with this or that translation or opinion. The work will be found interesting by the general public as a kind of primer in Chinese moral philosophy. Such trifling discrepancies as (p. 56) “expose the hiding” for “disturb the hibernating” in no way interfere with an intelligent appreciation of the actual moral sentiments as indicated by the original text. One or two Americanisms in spelling, such as “councilor” and “worshiped,” are somewhat of eyesores to the sensitive British taste, and the explanatory note No. 5, on p. 70, refers the reader back to the wrong place. “To give away evil in marriage” would be better rendered (p. 76) by “to father evil upon one.”

The illustrative stories which follow the hortatory text are, as Dr. Carus admits, of inferior value to the said text, even in the original, and Dr. Carus has, moreover, allowed

himself considerable latitude here; he has only given excerpts, without original text, and, besides, he has introduced outside matter (for no very obvious reason) not found in the text of the stories at all. The pictures are quaint; the index is rather scanty. On the whole, the book deserves a good sale and a kindly appreciation.—E. H. PARKER.

9. *The Egyptian Heaven and Hell*, by E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A., etc., Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum. Three volumes, with numerous illustrations, 1905. These volumes treat of the Egyptian notions of heaven and hell. Vol. I. contains the text, comments, and illustrations of the book "Ām-Ṭuat," or the "Underground," or "Other World." Vol. II., "The Book of Gates." Vol. III., the Contents of the Books of the "Other World," described and compared. Dr. Budge says: "In primitive times in Egypt men thought that they would obtain admission into the Kingdom of Hētep by learning and remembering the secret name of this god and certain magical formulæ, and by pronouncing them in the correct way at the proper time. The need for a consciousness of sin and repentance, and a life of good works, were not then held to be indispensable for admission into the abode of the beatified. From the 'Book of Gates,' however, we learn that in the later Dynastic Period a belief was prevalent that those who worshipped the 'great god' on earth, and made all the duly-appointed offerings, and turned not aside to 'miserable little gods,' and lived according to *maāt*—i.e., uprightness and integrity—would receive a good reward, *because* they had done these things. The texts (hieroglyphic) state that the beatified live for ever in the kingdom of Osiris, and feed daily upon the heavenly wheat of righteousness that springs from the body of Osiris, which is eternal; he is righteousness itself, and they are righteous, and they live by eating the body of their god daily. On the other hand, the wicked—i.e., those who did not believe in the great god, or make offerings—are hacked to pieces by the Divine messengers of wrath,

and their bodies, souls, and spirits are consumed by fire once and for all. The Egyptians had no belief in a purgatory. The fires of the other world were, it is true, occupied daily in burning up the damned, and the opponents of the Sun-god; but each day brought its own supply of bodies, souls, spirits, demons, etc., for annihilation. In all the books of the "Other World" we find pits of fire, abysses of darkness, murderous knives, streams of boiling water, foul stench, fiery serpents, hideous animal-headed monsters, and creatures, and cruel, death-dealing beings of various shapes, etc., similar to those with which we are familiar in early Christian and medieval literature."

Dr. Budge has given the reader the complete hieroglyphic texts of the book "Âm-Tuat," and the "Book of Gates," with reproductions, admirably printed, with English translations and descriptions. He is of opinion that the Egyptians believed in the reconstitution of family life in the "Other World," and thought that every man and woman and child would possess such a measure of individuality that they would know their relatives and friends in the "Other World," and would be known by them. Vol. III. contains much interesting matter, and a full and minute index of the whole work, a perusal of which will afford much interesting information to Egyptologists.

CHARLES H. KELLY AND CO.; LONDON, 1906.

10. *Everyday Life in Bengal, and other Indian Sketches*, by WILLIAM H. HART. This book has been expanded by its author, a Wesleyan Methodist missionary, from papers written for his Church magazine. It leaves in the mind a feeling that the writer must be a pleasant man to know—cheerful, broad-minded, sympathetic, a good observer, who can describe what he sees. The old Indian reading it, finds himself every now and then laying it down, and letting his mind wander off to forgotten scenes and incidents which it has recalled. The thirteenth chapter in particular brings

back the mingled worries and fun of many a country journey.

From the book we infer that the author lived in Calcutta, with excursions, of which we find traces of four—to Bankura, Darjeeling, Upper India, and the Andamans. The book deals mainly, as the title indicates, with matters personal to the author—house, servants, shops, religions; the author's own work and experiences, and some of his opinions. There is a chapter of gossip about old Calcutta which must be as strange to our countrymen there to-day as to the home reader. The remarks on Europeans in India are fair and kindly. The author recognizes fully their importance to mission work. A native inclined from conviction to adopt the Christian faith keenly scans the life and conduct of those whom he looks on as samples of its finished work. But, though full weight is given to the individual example, no mention is made of one great obstacle to progress—the wrangling and divisions of the Christian Churches among themselves. One chapter we would have wished away—the seventeenth, on "Babu English." It is funny, but offensive and unfair to the educated Indian. In India, where the facts are known, such things do little harm; but as a part of a picture made for those ignorant of India, it is apt to create a false impression. A most pathetic chapter is the fourteenth, on "Some Indian Graves." The spirit of the book is excellent; and if the author has not seen every side of all the difficult problems he has touched on, that is a limitation from which no man is exempt. The illustrations, taken from photographs, are numerous, well chosen, and well done.—R. C.

LUZAC AND CO., LONDON. THE UNIVERSITY OF
CHICAGO PRESS, CHICAGO.

II. *Ancient Records of Egypt*: Historical Documents from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest. Collected, edited, and translated, with commentary, by JAMES HENRY

BREASTED, PH.D., Professor of Egyptology and Oriental History in the University of Chicago. Four Vols. The author of these volumes, after great research in the principal libraries and museums in Europe and elsewhere, has presented to the English reader a collection of all the documents known at present bearing upon Egyptian history. This difficult and unusual task has been most laborious. The collection, copying, collation, correction, editing, arrangement, translation, and publication of these ancient documents, at the outset, occupied more than ten years, and entailed protracted journeys to the great collections of Europe. All the inscriptions of Egypt found in the European museums, and many of those in Egypt, have been copied by the author's own hand, and hence he was enabled to base his translations directly upon the originals. These circumstances ensured to the work a scope and a degree of accuracy never before attained in this field of research. The aim of the author has been to incorporate only those of a distinctly historical character. All exclusively literary, scientific, religious, or business documents have been, therefore, excluded, unless of those of such a nature as to throw an important sidelight upon special phases of the social or political life of the people. These volumes thus include the entire series of documentary sources from which we draw our knowledge of the history of ancient Egypt. The volumes will be of much interest not only to scholars, but to the general reader, who seeks to acquire information concerning the various aspects of the social, political, and domestic life of a remote age—its several institutions and military organizations, its governmental and judicial methods, its achievements in peace and war, its kings and its commoners, its public triumphs and private tragedies, will all be found in the work before us. The author has presented us with a standard translation at once scholarly accurate and idiomatic. Paraphrasing has been rigidly avoided, and an effort has been made to render each individual word as well as the general sense of a

passage in a way that reproduces the original as faithfully as possible, rather than to furnish a glib English version. There are numerous footnotes describing each document, and an introduction showing its historical significance, as well as explanations in obscure matters in the text. The inscriptions are arranged chronologically from the earliest fixed dates in history. The whole work when finished will consist of five volumes, with full and complete lists of contents and indices.

12. *Late Babylonian Letters*: Transliterations and Translations of a Series of Letters written in Babylonian Cuneiform, chiefly during the Reigns of Nabonidus, Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius, by R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON, B.A. The present volume, xvii., is the last volume published of a series called "Luzac's Semitic Text and Translations." It will provide Assyriologists with additional material to study the large section of late Babylonian Cuneiform Letters published in Part XXII. of "Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc." Mr. Thompson in his preface classifies the cuneiform letters which are now extant into four classes or periods: (1) The letters of Hammurabi and his period, which give the details of Babylonian government and social conditions about 2000 B.C.; (2) the Tel-el-Amarna letters, which give the relations between Mesopotamia, Egypt, and the Syrian Coast about 1500 B.C.; (3) the letters from Aššurbanipal's Library, dealing with every kind of subject, which was written during the period of the late Assyrian Empire; (4) the late Babylonian letters, which formed the present volume, covering a period from Nabonidus to Darius. Those letters chiefly consist of matters connected with commerce and business correspondence. The prints of both the texts and translations are excellent, and supply curious and interesting information of the social habits and requirements of the period and people of the time. Other volumes of the same series are in course of preparation.

E. MARLBOROUGH AND CO. ; 51, OLD BAILEY, LONDON, 1906.

13. *Tamil Grammar Self-Taught* (in Tamil and Roman characters), by D. M. de ZILVA WICKREMASINGHE, Epigraphist to the Ceylon Government, Librarian and Assistant Keeper of the Indian Institute, Oxford. This is a very useful compendium, which will enable the tyro to master as much Tamil grammar as is usually required by the Englishman brought in contact with those who speak the language, and may also, as the author himself suggests in the preface, serve as an introduction to a more complete study in Dr. Pope's "Handbook." Mr. Wickremasinghe gives the key to the common difficulties—the forms of the past tense (pp. 45-53), the cases governed by postpositions (p. 69), etc.—regarding whose solution ordinary dictionaries leave the learner wholly in the dark. He makes the use of participles and the like very clear by means of the examples brought forward. In the syntax he explains such characteristics as the turning of a participle, by a suffix, into a noun agreeing with the subject (p. 76). The exercises, which a key and a full vocabulary complete, are well arranged, the easier paving the way for the more difficult ; and other very necessary features are lists of the abbreviations constantly met with in manuscripts (p. 13), and of the characters used for numerals and fractions (pp. 38 to 41). Both transliteration and Marlborough's phonetic system have been laid under contribution with the object of facilitating matters, but in some cases this result has hardly been arrived at, and a few alterations would therefore be advisable in future editions. Thus, as Dr. Pope has pointed out in a prefatory note, otherwise containing nothing but well-deserved praise, *th*—or some phonetic symbol that represents the English sound of *th* in such words as *they*, *breathe*, and *with*—should be substituted for *d* in the transliteration of the letter following *n* in the alphabetical table (pp. 11, 12) ; that following *v*, as its sound has very much more of *l* than of *r*, should be represented by an *l* of some

sort rather than by *r*. To give *c* the arbitrary value of *ch* in *church*, again, is most misleading, except to those professors who have agreed to accept this convention. Since the book is not meant for them, but for beginners, this perversion of the letter from its everyday function becomes nothing but a stumbling-block in the present instance. When such slight defects are remedied the manual will fulfil its office perfectly.—R. G. C.

MACMILLAN AND CO.; LONDON.

14. *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind; or, Notes on the Kingly Office in West Africa*, by R. E. DENNELL. This book is the record of observations made in some of the kingdoms of West Africa during a residence of many years. It has the merit attaching to books which preserve, and make accessible, such facts, obtained not without suffering and trouble and difficulties of many kinds, among them that are of a strange and unknown tongue. But it has not the supreme merit which its premier title seems to claim, that of making us acquainted with the mental processes of the inhabitants of those regions—a matter of deepest interest, for it is no longer considered that information about the modes of thought and action of peoples in the lower grades of civilization is of value only as gratifying our curiosity or self-complacency, but as serving to enable us to study the evolution, the rise, of human thought and character. It is strange, after such a title, to find the writer dealing with the matter in a few pages only, and declaring that “the philosophy at the back of the black man's mind” is all embodied in a formula which is derivable from a figure on a board which is used as “a divining-board or a tally of the seasons indiscriminately. . . . Resting on the top of the board you will find a bird, meant to represent the IFE, a kind of wagtail. . . . Immediately beneath this bird is the formula, formed first of sixteen marks or holes in four parallel lines, and

secondly of eight ditto in two parallel lines." . . . The sixteen holes are said to indicate "divine principles," the eight holes "natural parts." For further explanations and argument we must refer the reader to the book. The author states his conviction that "this is the formula which has so long been lying hid at the back of the black man's mind . . . difficult, perhaps impossible, as it may be to convince others of this (to me) great truth." We confess we are not convinced. But there is, apart from this tally-board, a setting down of a great number of facts and occurrences in the book. The reader can put them to use for himself—as, for instance, in considering the question to what extent similarity of certain customs indicates community of origin between several peoples, or merely that all peoples have the same, or closely similar, customs at the same period of growth; or in following out the reflections that arise when he finds mentioned strange doings and beliefs which still are to be found among the most highly civilized nations, though not as things common and esteemed, but as things uncommon and disesteemed, and so on. But the man on the spot is best able to dive into the reason, or unreason, of things, to find an answer to the question Why? which one is so inclined to put in regard to the facts of savage life. "It is a bad sign to hear a cock crow after 6 p.m. and before 3 a.m." One sees the reason for that. But what makes the cry or movement of other birds mentioned unlucky? "As far as my observations have taken me, there are only six sacred trees." What has made these sacred among so many thousands of others? Among them is the *Ficus religiosa*, sacred in India also. "A man should not marry any woman who lifts drink up with her left hand, or one who when she cooks kneels only on one knee." Indian experience would give a reason for the former, but why the latter? There is much interesting information with regard to the family, marriage contracts, property, crimes and punishments, judicial procedure. "The procedure, civil

and criminal, is much as it existed in Europe in barbarous times, ordeals being used instead of legal proceedings where one of the parties fears that his opponent may take an unfair advantage of his property, or when legal proceedings have not been successful in clearing the matter up, and as a kind of last appeal." It also enables fearful or wavering judges to escape from making a decision, giving a judgment. To this it may be added that ordeals would be used instead of legal proceedings quite naturally, as it were, in cases which turned on the working of unknown supernatural agencies.

With reference to the second title, the author lays great stress on the importance of the kingly office, and thinks "that the work of the government of the natives" would "be greatly simplified" if that importance were recognised by ourselves. The King is chief priest as well. To him the whole land belongs, and all that is in it—animate or inanimate. "The King holds the whole country in trust from God, through the 'powers,' for the use of the people." There is much interesting information with regard to the Court—that of the so-called Kings—and the constitution of the State.

It may not be easy, perhaps, to find the observer and the scientific, or philosophical, inquirer combined; but it would be a good thing for the observer to study beforehand how and to what end to observe. "I know how hard it is," says the author, "for an observer of primitive, arrested, or degraded people's thoughts to get at their real meaning." And where he speaks of the difficulty of convincing others of the great truth he himself sees in the formula of the tally-board, he goes on to say: "On the other hand, I cannot help feeling that one who has lived so long among the Africans, and who has acquired a kind of way of thinking back, should be listened to, on the off chance that a secondary instinct, developed by long contact with the people he is writing about, may have driven him to a right, or very nearly right, conclusion." With reference

to this, may it not be said that if an Englishman comes to think back it must be by a lowering of his intellectual and moral faculties, and therefore by a loss of his power of right judgment? In the old days of the East India Company, when its servants, especially those in the army, went out very young, and passed most of their lives in India, it was seen that the above did very often happen in the case of those who came to think back, who took up the ways of the natives; who not only respected the prejudices of the natives, but came to share them; who, "by long contact with the people," acquired their instincts. Much has been written with regard to the promotion of social intercourse between the English in India and the Indians about them—a thing we advocate; but we once heard an English official—a performer of his duty to the utmost—say with regard to this: "Any real intercourse would neither be pleasant nor beneficial to me." The book is illustrated.—R. E. F.

15. *Persia, Past and Present*, by A. Y. Williams Jackson. This is called "a book of travel and research," and is partly intended for the student and partly for the general reader, to both of whom it will be very welcome. The author, an American authority on Zoroaster, obtained leave from the trustees of Columbia University to visit the land of which the prophet was a native, to see the holy places, and, if we may express it so, to walk in his ancient shadow; and this book is the excellent result. He entered Persia via Tiflis and Erivan, and gives a chapter on Tabriz, the residence of the Crown Prince; and this is followed by an interesting account of Zoroaster and the Avesta—the only Oriental religious book, it is pointed out later, that does not reprobate the dog as unclean. He visited Urumiah, which as early as A.D. 816 was known as "the city of Zaradusht," and from there pushed on to Takht-i-Suleiman, identified by him as the Shiz of the Arabs and the Ganjak of the Pahlavi texts, and then proceeded to Hamadan, which he regards as the ancient Ecbatana, and which he found wholly

shorn of its ancient glory as the capital of Media, though interesting from its traditions, the "tomb of Esther and Mordecai," and the Ganj Namah inscriptions of Darius and Xerxes. A visit to the great Behistan rock was the next journey of the author, and he is able to give in this connection, not only the fascinating story of the first key to the interpretation of cuneiform writing, but also a narrative of Sir Henry Rawlinson's achievements, and bears testimony to his extraordinary accuracy. He himself also performed the dangerous feat of ascending to the inscriptions, and his report of the dilapidations since Rawlinson's time, and of the lettering of the inscriptions themselves, will be invaluable to the student of ancient Persian history. Tak-i-Bostan, with its stone grottoes and Sasanian bas-reliefs, one of which may represent Zoroaster, was his next object of pilgrimage, and Kerman-shah was only a halting-place before he proceeded to the great ruined temple at Kangavar, which he thinks may have been founded by Artaxerxes II. The next point of interest was the Fire Temple near Isfahan, though to it no certain date is assigned, and there we find a description of Isfahan, where he met the most prosperous "Gabar" merchant. Pasargadae and the tomb of Cyrus were next visited, and we are given a good account of them, and then of the monuments, royal tombs, and fire altars of Persepolis, as well as the ancient "dakhmas" or burial-places, which the author inspected with great care. After a brief halt at the beautiful Shiraz of the poets, the author came to Yezd, and there he met many Zoroastrians, of whom he has a great deal to tell which will interest everybody who desires to know how the descendants of the old "Gabars" still fare in Persia. He gives us pretty full details of their ceremonies, which are generally (perhaps from fear of persecution) simpler than those of the Parsees, and this part of his work will also be of use to the Zoroastrian student. The Zoroastrians of Teheran were then visited, and Rei, the ancient Ragha, obtains a chapter, as it was the cradle of

their faith, and possesses one of the most ancient towers of silence. It is impossible not to congratulate the author after reading the narrative of his journey, as he not only interests the reader in the account of his travels, but also in the history of Zoroaster and the Avesta, to which he has given so much study.—A. F. S.

SMITH, ELDER AND CO. ; LONDON, 1906.

16. *The Romance of an Eastern Capital*, by F. B. BRADLEY-BIRT, B.A., I.C.S. Mr. Bradley-Birt's works are always interesting, and this account of Dacca is not the least attractive of them. He points out that to the ordinary Englishman it was till recently little known, except that there muslins were made ; but, all the same, it has been an imperial city in its time, and it is the history of the capital which he sets himself to reconstruct for us with his own special skill. Before the Mussulman conquest it had little separate history that has been handed down. Buddhist Kings vanished from the district, and their Hindu successors in Sonargaon were easily overcome by the Viceroys of the Emperors of Delhi. When the Moghuls succeeded to the imperial throne a new capital was desired in Eastern Bengal, and the city of Dacca was erected in 1608 by the Viceroy Islam Khan, who saw that it possessed the strategic position he desired. He built a fair city, defeated both the Mugh invaders and the Portuguese pirates, and died full of honours in 1613. The third Viceroy was the brother of the Empress Nur Jehan, and it was her desire for fine muslins to set off her rare beauty that gave a fillip to that trade. Kassim Khan, one of his successors, in 1631 destroyed the Portuguese settlement of Hooghly from hatred to the Christians, yet two years later the English received permission to trade in Bengal through the Court influence of Mr. Gabriel Broughton, who had cured the Princess Jahan Ara of a severe burn. Mir Jumla, a succeeding Viceroy, conquered Cooch Behar and Assam before

he died in 1663, having been dreaded by Aurungzebe as a possible rival. Shaista Khan, the nephew of the Empress Nur Jehan, and brother of Mumtaz-i-Mahal, was his successor, and to him Dacca owes much, for some of the beautiful buildings erected by him remain. He treated with the English, Dutch, and Portuguese, and conquered Chittagong. Bernier visited Bengal in 1666, and was struck by its fertility and commerce during his viceroyalty, and Tavernier, who got as far as Dacca in 1666, was received by him. The English factory was established formally in 1667, though not unopposed by rivals, amongst whom was "Pirate Pitt," later Governor of Madras, nor without eventful internecine quarrels, as well as many and dangerous wars with the Nawab. Peace was restored in 1690, and Dacca ceased in 1702 to be the capital of Bengal at a time when the Moghul power was waning. In 1756 the English factory was seized by Surajudowlah, and its occupants would have been murdered but for M. Law, the chief of the French factory of Corsimbazwar; but it was re-established the next year, and in 1765 the English assumed full administration. Mr. Birt has much to tell us of the Englishmen who ruled there, among whom were the Thackerays. He quotes Bishop Heber's visit, and describes Dacca during the Mutiny, and makes the quieter English régime almost as interesting as the stormy current intrigues of former times which he narrates so well. A fascinating description of Dacca of to-day follows, which shows the author's excellent descriptive style to great advantage. He augurs that much good will accrue to Dacca, since it is again the capital of Eastern Bengal, and we know that everyone will be glad to have his description of the town which is on the way of being restored to its former prosperity.—A. F. S.

17. *With Mounted Infantry in Tibet*, by BREVET-MAJOR W. J. OTTLEY, 34th Sikh Pioneers, with portraits, illustrations, and plan. 1906. This highly interesting volume is

dedicated to the 23rd and 32nd Sikh Pioneers and the 8th Gurkha Rifles, in a spirit of gratefulness for the selection and choice of the non-commissioned officers and men detailed from each regiment for service with mounted infantry in Tibet. The author was induced to write his experience, having been assured that his narrative would be of interest to the requirements of those races in the Indian Army, and would commemorate the first occasion that native mounted infantry had been employed on active service on or beyond the Indian frontier in Asia. It will be remembered that the 32nd Sikh Pioneers were raised during the Mutiny, and were employed at Delhi in fortifying and defending the British camp. A detachment of them carried and laid the powder-bags to blow in the Cashmir Gate, which led to the fall of the city. The whole detachment (nineteen men) were either killed or wounded. The 23rd Sikh Pioneers were raised immediately after the Mutiny, and since then both these regiments have been employed on every kind of military duty—as pioneers, engineers, infantry soldiers, artillerymen—and their services in the Tibet Mission have added another proof that they can be as good mounted infantry as they are pioneers. It was thought that it was not possible for the Gurkhas, owing to their short stature and round legs, but they have proved themselves, after training and practice, as good riders and mounted infantry as they are hardy and gallant foot-soldiers.

Major Ottley's narrative of the various stages of this hazardous, dangerous, and trying expedition, is most interesting. It is well illustrated by numerous and well-executed portraits, including that of General Sir I. R. L. Macdonald, sketches of camps, incidents, mountains, rivers, lakes, forts, monasteries, Lhasa, and other places. The signing of the Convention took place on September 7, 1904, when Colonel Younghusband delivered the following important speech :

"We are now at peace. The misunderstandings of the past are over, and a basis has been laid for mutual good relations in future. In the Convention the British Government have been careful to avoid interfering in the smallest degree with your religion. They have annexed no part of your country. They have made no attempt to interfere in your internal affairs. They fully recognize the continued suzerainty of the Chinese Government. They have merely sought to ensure that you abide by the treaty made on your behalf by the Amban in 1890; that trade relations between India and Tibet, which are no less advantageous to you than to us, should be established, as they have been with every other country in the world except Tibet; that British representatives should be treated with respect in future; and that you should not depart from your traditional policy in regard to relations with other countries.

"The treaty now made I promise, on behalf of the British Government, we will rigidly observe. But I must also warn you we will as rigidly enforce it. Any infringement will surely be punished; any obstruction to trade, any disrespect or injury to British subjects, will be noticed, and requirement exacted. We treat you well when you come to India. We take not a single rupee in Customs duty from your merchants. We allow Tibetans to travel or reside wherever they will. We preserve the ancient buildings of the Buddhist faith. But we expect when we come to Tibet that we should be treated with no less consideration and respect than we show to you in India.

"You have found us bad enemies when you have not observed treaty obligations and shown disrespect to the British representative. You will find us equally good friends if you keep the present treaty and show civility.

"I trust that the peace which has this moment been established will last for ever, and that we may never again be forced to treat you as enemies.

"As a first token of peace I will ask General Macdonald

to release all prisoners of war, and I shall expect that you will set at liberty all those imprisoned on account of dealings with us."

EDWARD STANFORD; LONG ACRE, LONDON, W.C.

18. *Maps of Sierra Leone—Freetown, Karina, Falaba, Panguma, Sherbro Island, Bandajuma.*—These beautifully-executed maps show roads fit for a hammock, tracts and bush-paths, railways completed, telegraph lines and offices, headquarters of districts, international boundaries, colonial and provincial boundaries, ruins, Fakai villages, towns, rivers, and boundary-stones between colonies and protectorates. It may be mentioned in connection with these maps that the Anglo-French boundary from Tembikunda to Wellia and from Kiragba to the source of the Little Mola was delimited by Joint Commission in 1895-1896. The colony of Sierra Leone was surveyed in 1903-1904 by the Colonial Survey Section. No other portion of the country included in map headed "Freetown, etc.," has been surveyed, and the position of rivers, roads, and villages are only approximate.

BAHAR EL JHAZAL.—This map, equally well executed, exhibits international and provincial boundaries, mission-stations, forts, falls or rapids, telegraphs and stations, roads for wheel traffic, well-defined main tracks, other routes, heights in feet above sea-level, wells, springs, pools, and dams. No portion of the country included in this sheet has been surveyed, and the position of villages, rivers, and hills is only approximate.

CHINA: PROVINCE OF HO-NAN. — This sheet shows capitals of provinces, towns of first to fourth classes, walled towns or villages, railways completed and projected, cart-roads, and pack or wheel-barrow roads, footpaths, telegraphs and offices, imperial post offices, embankments, ferries, mission-stations (Protestant and Roman Catholic),

limit of navigation, with draught in feet for steamers and cargo boats, height above sea-level, and provincial boundaries.

PROVINCE OF CHIH-LI (SOUTHERN SHEET).—This contains similar references to those in the province of Ho-Nan, with corresponding explanations. All these maps are reproduced and printed for the Topographical Section of the General Staff of the Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton, 1906.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

The African Monthly, No. 1, vol. i., December, 1906 (The African Book Company, Limited, Grahamstown, Cape Colony; W. Dawson and Sons, Limited, Cannon House, Brems Buildings, London, E.C.). This is the first number of a magazine devoted to literature, history, exploration, science, art, poetry, fiction, etc. It contains papers on Colonial Defence, the Transvaal Labour Problem, and other important information. We wish this monthly every success. It is announced that the January number will contain an able article on the forthcoming Colonial Conference, by Mr. Geoffrey Drage, late M.P. for Derby.

Report of the Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society for the Quarter ending December, 1906. This Report contains interesting papers and the discussions upon them. One is: "The Eastern and Western Civilization, or the Decadence of Western Europe," by Mr. T. Miller Maguire; another on the "Anglo-Russian Fleets and Anglo-Russian Friendship," by Mr. Arnold White; and another on "Russia the Bulwark of Christendom," by Captain P. A. Charrier.

For 1907 there will be papers on "Glimpses of Russian Life and Character," by Captain Gervais Lyons; "A Slav Hero"; "Twenty-five Years of the Life and Work of a Russian Composer"; and "Russia and Persia."

Calendrier Annuaire pour 1907. (Printed at the Shanghai Catholic Mission for the Siccawei Observatory.) This is the fifth issue of the admirable annual dollar's worth, which only began in 1903. Each successive number contains some novelty: this last one's speciality is (1) Health Hints and Precautions against Tuberculosis;

(2) the Ecclesiastical Calendar. Two hundred pages and ten maps or charts contains everything else that it is essential to know concerning the climate, population, government and geography of China; the treaty ports; the foreign officials and population; sun, moon, stars, eclipses; weights, measures; foreign calendars; posts, telegraphs, railways; weather, mortality, earthquakes, rain; missions and missionaries; events during the year; fluctuations of exchange; feasts, holidays, tides, dynasties, temperature, barometers, etc. Issued as it is under the superintendence of some of the most learned men in the world, it consequently is a work of much scientific value. The whole five years' issue ought to be on file in every sinological library; and it must be remembered that a dollar only means two shillings.—E. H. PARKER.

The Doom of Western Civilization, by JAMES STANLEY LITTLE (W. H. and L. Collingridge, Aldersgate Street, London). This short work of about sixty pages is a pungent and plain-spoken contemplation on the progress, or, rather, the degeneration and decay, of the British Empire. The following is a specimen of the author's statements. Referring specially to what is called the "smart set," he says: "The passport to this society is necessarily money—its possession or money's equivalent; for if money is not forthcoming, some degrading price must be paid to make good the deficiency. Consequently there never was a time in the history of Western civilization when men and women gave themselves up as unreservedly to the worship of the 'golden calf,' when the policy of making terms with the mammon of unrighteousness was more universally accepted or acted upon. The spirit of this gross idolatry is reflected in everything. The very language of the fashionable world has become commercialized and vulgarized. . . . The vast majority of 'smart' women seem to assimilate themselves as much as possible to the nymphs of the pavement in their appearance, their rouge, and their meretricious bedizen-

ments; in their manner, their talk, and in their very nature."

Israel in the Bible and in History, by W. PUMFREY, with a preface by Rev. A. HERBERT, M.A. (Robert Banks and Son, Racquet Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C.). The author endeavours to show that the English nation is of the generation of Abraham, and thereby will be the means of fulfilling the prophecies of Scripture with regard to the Jews.

Folk-Tales from Tibet, with Illustrations by a Tibetan Artist, and some Verses from Tibetan Love-Songs (Hurst and Blackett, Ltd., High Holborn, London, W.C., 1906). These curious and quaint tales have been collected and translated by CAPTAIN W. F. O'CONNOR, C.I.E., Secretary and Interpreter of the Mission to Lhasa (1904). The author, during his two years in Tibet, mixed with all classes of the people—high and low—and with all sorts and conditions of the people. Out of his stock of many stories, he has produced a good number in the present well-got-up book, with amusing illustrations peculiar to native artists. The tales are twenty-two in number, besides some snatches of Tibet love-songs, of which the following is a specimen:

"Could I but win the maiden
For whom my heart doth pine,
I'd prize her as a jewel
From depths of ocean brine.

"I'd guard her fragrant body
Like white turquoise so rare.
My wanderings all behind me,
I'd know no earthly care.

"As luscious fruit well ripened
Hangs tempting on the tree,
So is thy beauty, maiden,
Temptation sore to me.

"From longings for thy beauty,
How can I sleep at night?
By day I seek thee vainly;
My heart is tired quite."

English Lessons (No. 1, illustrated): intended and designed especially for teaching English to Foreigners, by ALSONIA (London: Thomas Murby and Co., 6, Bouverie Street, Fleet Street, E.C.). This is the first of a series under the title of ALSONIA, adapted for schools and private lessons. Each lesson is short and easy, and contains an illustration to almost every lesson. In its 112 pages it contains 3,000 different words, or different forms of the same word. The series will consist of five numbers, but each number is complete in itself. The present number contains also a short dictionary of the words used and their pronunciation. We consider the plan is excellent, and we hope the series will prove exceedingly useful to foreigners who desire an easy and correct knowledge of the English language for conventional use.

The Calcutta Congress and Conferences (G. A. Nateson and Co., Madras). This handy little work contains a collection of the important speeches delivered at the Indian National Congress, the Industrial Conference and Exhibition, the Social Ladies' Temperance and Theistic Conferences, with appendices containing the resolutions passed at those meetings. Among the speeches are those on the education of Indian women, by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Her Highness the Maharani of Baroda. The speeches and papers are worthy of serious attention.

Amitabha, by PAUL CARUS (The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago. London agents: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd. 1906). A well-told story of Buddhist theology. "Manifesting himself everywhere, the Buddha of Bliss is infinite, boundless, limitless, unceasing, and of a spiritual nature."

Easy Shorthand, by SIR EDWARD CLARKE, K.C. (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., Ltd.). This little volume gives concisely the rules of a simple shorthand system invented in 1786. Since then it has been revised, and new prefixes, terminations, contractions, and various other additions, have been made, and the whole is given

in a form which the author believes to be as simple and as easily read as it is possible for shorthand to be.

Report of the First Indian Industrial Conference, held at Benares on December 30, 1905 (The Indian Press, Allahabad, 1906). This voluminous report contains resolutions, addresses, and papers upon various industries in India, with numerous important appendices.

Report on Archæological Work in Burma for the Year 1905-1906 (Government Printing Press, Rangoon). A very interesting report by the able and well-known Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Taw Sein Ko.

The Annual Report of the Post Office of India for the Year 1904-1905 (Government Printing Press, Calcutta). The report comprises information on postal communications, postage-stamps, insurance and value-payable post, money orders, savings banks, and other miscellaneous information.

Report and Supplement of the Director of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency for the Year 1905-1906 (Government Central Press, Bombay). This report embraces a general summary of the institutions, private and public, the pupils, and expenditure which amounts to Rs. 1,02,81,654. The pupils in public institutions are classified as Europeans and Eurasians, native Christians, Hindus (Brahmins and non-Brahmins), Mahomedans, Buddhists, Parsis, and others, the total being 660,323. The report also contains a statement as to administration and other miscellaneous subjects.

Occasional Reports (Nos. 2 and 3). No 2: *Vernacular Reading Books in the Bombay Presidency*, by A. G. COVERNTON, M.A., Educational Inspector Northern Division; and No. 3. *The Education System of Japan*, by W. H. SHARP, M.A., Professor of Philosophy Elphinstone College, Bombay (the Office of the Director-General of Bombay, India). No. 2 contains an account of the revision of the vernacular reading-books used in the Presidency. This revision was carried out by a committee appointed by the Government and presided over by Mr. Covernton. The books revised were those intended mainly for primary pupils, but are

used also in middle and high Anglo-vernacular schools and in training colleges for primary teachers. The books are in Marathi, Gujarati, Sindhi, and Kanarese. No. 3: This is a very able and exhaustive report of the system of education in Japan. It contains also an historical sketch of education: (1) The state of education up to 1853; (2) since then till 1872, embracing the central and local authorities, primary education, secondary education, higher schools and Universities, private schools for females, for the aristocracy, the aborigines, reformatories, training of teachers, foreign languages, text-books, and various other important information bearing on education. A volume deserving minute study by all educationalists.

Annual Report of the Director-General of Archaeology for the Year 1904-1905. Part I. (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1906). The record of this department of the Government for 1904-1905 has been one of steady advance. In consequence of the improvement in organization, conservative work among ancient buildings has been well sustained. Increased attention has been given to the excavation of buried sites, also a large number of new and valuable inscriptions have been copied. A full description of all the works of importance that have been carried through during the year will be given in the second part of the report, which promises to be one of extreme interest.

The East of Asia, vol. v., No. 3 (Shanghai: *North China Herald* Office, September, 1906). We notice with regret this magazine will cease to be issued after the completion of this volume. Its contents cannot fail to be appreciated by those interested in Eastern countries that have during the last fifty years sprung into greater prominence. We have perused with much satisfaction gems of poetry, quaint folk-lore stories, and other items recounted by venturesome travellers and missionaries. Pleasant reading has also been provided in descriptions of manners and customs, the wealth of natural beauties, of

obscure countries, vast rivers, mighty territories, together with individual objects of note. The Editor may be congratulated on the choice of such varied papers, which include in their range of subjects ancient matter, classical literature, and up-to-date political information of widely diversified interest.—S.

THE LETTERS OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

We are pleased to announce that Mr. John Murray, of Albemarle Street, London, will publish, early in the autumn, a selection from Her Majesty's correspondence between the years 1837-1861, by the authority of His Majesty the King. The work will consist of three volumes, beautifully illustrated by portraits, and will form the most important book of the present generation. It is edited by Arthur Christopher Benson, M.A., and Viscount Esher, G.C.V.O., K.C.B. The price will be three guineas net, and intending purchasers should send advance orders to their booksellers as soon as may be convenient.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: George Newnes, Limited, London and New York: *The Strand Magazine*, *The Grand Magazine*, *The Sunday Strand*, *The Wide World Magazine*;—C. B. Fry's *Magazine*;—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder);—*The North American Review*;—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Rapid Review* (C. Arthur Pearson, Henrietta Street, W.C.);—*The Theosophical Review* (The Theosophical Publishing Society, 161, New Bond

Street, London, W.); — *The Board of Trade Journal* (with which is incorporated the *Imperial Institute Journal*), edited by the Commercial Department of the Board of Trade (Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, E.C.; Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh; Edward Ponsonby, Dublin); — *The Wednesday Review* of politics, literature, society, science, etc. (S. M. Raja Ram Rao, editor and proprietor, Teppakulam, Trichinopoly, Madras); — *The Hindustani Review and Kayastha Samachar*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road); — *Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893), November, December, 1906, and January, 1907 (the Imperial Institute, London, S.W.); — *The Hindu* (published at the National Press, 100, Mount Road, Madras); — *The Busy Man's Magazine* (The Maclean Publishing Company, Ltd., Toronto); — *The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* (Luzac and Co., London; Bombay Education Society's Press, Bombay); — *The Literary Digest*, which now includes *American Public Opinion* (Funk and Wagnalls Co., publishers, New York and London); — The Fourteenth Provincial Conference, held at Tinnevely, in June, 1906. Presidential address by Mr. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, B.A., B.L. (Natesan and Co.); — *Dadabhai Naoroji*: a sketch of his life and life-work (G. A. Natesan and Co.); — *India under Great Britain, English Liberal, Indian Congress, and American Democratic Views* (Natesan and Co.); — *Three Departed Patriots*: sketches of the lives and careers of the late Annanda Mohun Bose, Badruddin Tyabji, and W. C. Bonnerjee, by D. E. Wacha and Mr. Gokhale (Natesan and Co., Esplanade, Madras, India); — *Boy and Girl: Should they be Educated Together?* A study of the principle and methods of co-education, by Vivian Grey and Edward S. Tylee, M.A. (London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co.; Oxford: Alden and Co., Limited, Bocardo Press, 1906); — *A Real Mahatma*: a personal study, by T. C. Crawford (London: Luzac and Co.); — *The Indian Moham-*

medans : Their Past, Present, and Future, by A. Yusuf Ali, M.A., LL.M. (Cantab.), I.C.S. (London : P. S. King and Son, Orchard House, Westminster, 1907) ; — *Die Mon-Khmer-Völker, ein Bindeglied zwischen Völkern Zentralasiens und Austronesiens*, von P. W. Schmidt, s.v.d. (Braunschweig Druck und Verlag von Friedrich Viewegund Sohn, 1906) ; — *Vier Philosophische Texte Des Mahābhārata : Sanatsujāta—Parvan—Bhagavadgītā—Mokshadharmā—Anugītā*. In Gemeinschaft mit Dr. Otto Strauss aus dem Sanskrit Übersetzt, von Dr. Paul Deussen (Leipzig : F. A. Brockhaus, 1906).

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone our notices of the following works : *The Ancient World* : a historical sketch, with comparative chart of principal events, being vol. ii. of "Reflections on Some Leading Facts and Ideas of History : their Meaning and Interest," by C. W. Whish (London : Luzac and Co.) ; — Part I. of *The Lubābu 'L-Albāb of Muhammad 'Awfi*, by Edward G. Browne and Mirzā Mahammad Ibn 'Abdu 'L-Wahhāb-I-Oazwīnī (London : Luzac and Co. ; Leide : E. J. Brill) ; — *The Pearl String* : a history of the Resuliyy Dynasty of Yemen, by Aliyyu'bnu'-L-Hasan 'El-Khazrejiyy, with translation, etc., by the late Sir J. W. Redhouse, LITT.D. (Camb.), edited by E. G. Browne, R. A. Nicholson, and A. Rogers (Leyden : E. J. Brill ; London : Luzac and Co.) ; — *Ad-Damīrī's Hayāt Al-Hayawān* (a Zoological Lexicon), translated from the Arabic by Lieutenant-Colonel A. S. G. Jayakar, I.M.S. (retired), vol. i. (London : Luzac and Co. ; Bombay : D. B. Taraporevala, Sons and Co.) ; — *Asia*. Vol. i. : "Northern and Eastern Asia," by A. H. Keane, LL.D., F.R.G.S. (London : Edward Stanford) ; — *Burma* : a handbook of practical information, by Sir George Scott, K.C.I.E. (London : Alexander Moring, Limited) ; — *The Moham-medan World of To-day*, edited by S. M. Zwemer, F.R.G.S., E. M. Wherry, D.D., and James L. Barton, D.D. (London, Edinburgh, New York, Chicago and Toronto : Fleming

H. Revell and Co.) ;—*Signs and Portents in the Far East*, by Everard Cotes (London : Methuen and Co.) ;—*Indian Pictures and Problems*, by Ian Malcolm (London : E. Grant Richards) ;—*Under the Sun*, by Percival Landon (London : Hurst and Blackett, Ltd.) ;—*Recollections of a Lucknow Veteran*, 1845-1876, by Major-General J. Ruggles (London : Longmans, Green and Co.) ;—*Portuguese East Africa* : the history, scenery, and great game of Manica and Sofala, by R. C. F. Maugham (London : John Murray, 50a, Albemarle Street, W.) ;—*Asiatic Studies : Religious and Social*, first and second series, by Sir Alfred C. Lyall, K.C.B., D.C.L. (London : John Murray) ;—*From West to East : Notes by the Way*, by Sir Hubert Jerningham, K.C.M.G. (London : John Murray) ;—*The Tourist in India*, by Eustace Reynolds Ball, F.R.G.S., F.R.C.I. (London : Swan Sonnenschein and Co.) ;—*A Summer Ride through Western Tibet*, by Jane E. Duncan (London : Smith, Elder and Co.) ;—*The Lower Niger and its Tribes*, by Arthur Glyn Leonard (London : Macmillan and Co.) ;—*Lotus Land*, by P. A. Thompson (London : T. Werner Laurie) ;—*Hunting and Shooting in Ceylon*, by Harry Storey (London : Longmans, Green and Co.) ;—*The Great Plateau*, being an account of exploration in Central Tibet, 1903, and of the Gartok Expedition, 1904-1905, by Captain C. G. Rawling (London : Edward Arnold) ;—*English Hindustani Pocket Vocabulary*, by Major F. R. H. Chapman (London : Crosby, Lockwood and Son) ;—*Afghanistan*, by Angus Hamilton (London : William Heinemann).

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—The Ameer of Afghanistan has paid a visit to India during the last quarter. He arrived at Landi Khotal on January 2, and was met by his British escort, Sir Henry McMahon and Major Roos Keppel. He had with him a following of 75 officers and 1,026 men. Replying to Sir Henry McMahon's address of welcome, the Ameer expressed the great pleasure which he felt in coming to India. Among other places, the Ameer went to Peshawar; Agra, where he visited the Viceroy in formal state, attended a garden party given by Lord Minto, and, together with Lord Kitchener, witnessed a review of 30,000 troops. He also attended a Chapter of the Indian Orders, at which Lord Minto invested him with the Grand Cross of the Order of Bath, whence he went to Aligarh, and visited the Mohammedan College. In the course of a discussion on religious toleration, he expressed himself in favour of it, especially between Sunnites and Shiahhs, saying: "In Afghanistan, where there are Sunnites, Shiahhs, Hindus, and Jews, I have granted religious liberty to all." The Ameer announced the gift of an endowment in perpetuity of Rs. 6,000 (£400) yearly to the Mohammedan College, and also an immediate cash donation of Rs. 20,000 (£1,333).

Afterwards he went to Gwalior, Delhi, Calcutta, and Bombay. At the latter place the Ameer attended a banquet at Government House, at which Lord Lamington was present. In his speech acknowledging the toast of his health, the Ameer said that, in coming to India, he came to the country of his friends. It was impossible for him to express his thanks for the kind way in which he had been received. At no time would Afghanistan pass from this friendship with India. So long as the Indian Empire desired to keep that friendship, so long would Afghanistan and India remain friends.

The Ameer, after going to Karachi, returned to Peshawar, and on March 7 left, on his return to Kabul.

The following autograph message was received from the Ameer :

"In the name of God. At the time of returning from my journey in India, and re-entering Afghan territory, my tour, which has lasted sixty-four days, has given me so much pleasure that I cannot find words to express it.

"I am able to declare that, during this short tour, I have made more true friends for Afghanistan and for myself personally than I could have made in twenty years had I not come to India. My friend Sir Arthur McMahon will communicate this written message of mine to Reuter's Agency for publication in the newspapers for the information of the whole world.

"(Signed) SIRAJ-UL-MILLAT-WAD-DIN."

The Duke and Duchess of Connaught arrived in Calcutta on March 7, were cordially received, and proceeded to Government House, where they were entertained by the Viceroy and Lady Minto.

The National Congress was opened in Calcutta on December 26 last. Mr. Naoroji, in his presidential speech, advocated the principle of Home Rule.

The value of exports of Indian opium for the first eight months of last year was £270,000 less than the value in the same period of 1905, and £700,000 less than that of the same period of 1904. The exports of tea have risen to £500,000. The area under cotton is nearly a million acres larger than last year, and the output is estimated at 5,105,000 bales.

The approximate gross earnings of the Indian railways from April 1 to December 31 last showed an increase, over the corresponding period of 1905, of Rs. 126 lakhs in State guaranteed railways, and Rs. 25 lakhs in other railways.

The area under wheat crop for 1906-1907 in the Punjab,

North-West Frontier Province, United Provinces, Central Provinces, and Berars, is nearly 20,600,000 acres, or 10 per cent. more than last year. Bombay 1,860,000, against 1,512,000 acres.

The number of persons under State relief throughout India at present exceeds 65,000.

The total quantity of timber removed from the Punjab forests in 1905-1906 was 9,700,000, as compared with 3,800,000 in the previous year.

The Report on Forest Administration in Eastern Bengal and Assam for the year 1905-1906 shows a considerable increase in area, which now covers 6 per cent. of the province.

The Secretary of State has sanctioned the establishment of a college at Sanawar for training teachers for European schools.

Sir Cowasjee Jehanghir Readymoney has offered to the Bombay Government the sum of $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of rupees (£16,666) for the erection of a University Examination Hall in Bombay, thus following the example of his father, who gave to the city the Elphinstone College buildings and the Senate Hall of the University. There is one condition—that, when not in use for the University, it should be available to the public for non-political purposes.

The Administration Report of the Indo-European Telegraph Department for the year 1905-1906 shows that the earnings of the year were Rs. 16,66,232, or a decrease of Rs. 27,371 on those of 1904-1905. The expenditure during the year was Rs. 8,91,864, as compared with Rs. 10,77,679, a decrease of Rs. 1,85,815, giving a net profit for the year of Rs. 7,74,368.

Under Lord Kitchener's new scheme of reduction, three field batteries will be stationed at Nowshera next winter, Kirki and Ahmednagar being abandoned as single battery stations.

Mr. Theodore Morison has been appointed a member of the Council of India in succession to J. F. Finlay, C.S.I.,

appointed a member of the Council of the Governor-General of India.

Colin George Campbell, of the India Office, has been appointed to be Assistant Under-Secretary of State and Clerk of the Council of India, in the place of Sir Horace Walpole, K.C.B.

Toshiro Fujita has been appointed Consul of Japan at Bombay.

Raja Peary Mohan Mukherji has been appointed, and Raja Ban Behari Kapur and Ihtisham-ul-Mulk of Moorshedabad have been reappointed, members of the Bengal Legislative Council.

Lieutenant-General Sir O'Moore Creagh, V.C., K.C.B., will succeed General Sir Edward Stedman, K.C.B., K.C.I.E., as Secretary in the Military Department of the India Office, on the retirement of the latter in July next.

John O. Miller, C.S.I., I.C.S., Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, who will be succeeded by Mr. Craddock, C.S.I., has been appointed an ordinary member of the Council of the Governor-General of India, in succession to Sir Denzil Ibbetson, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.

The following have been appointed Puisne Judges of the High Court of Judicature: at Calcutta, Charles Peter Caspersz, Herbert Holmwood, Charles William Chitty, Ernest Edward Fletcher; at Bombay, Frank Clement Offley Beaman.

MADRAS.—The revenue returns for 1906-1907 amounted to 637.49 lakhs, as compared with 639.06 lakhs for 1905-1906. The principal items were: Land revenue, 198.25; salt, 106.98; excise, 139.47; stamps, 71.21 lakhs.

Rs. 4,47,000 have been sanctioned by the Government for the construction of the main buildings of the Agricultural College and Research Institute at Coimbatore.

During the year 1906-1907 there has been an expansion of 29 per cent. in the ground-nut crop, as compared with the areas at the end of 1905, with a total of 507,600 acres.

NATIVE STATES.—Prince Ranjitsinghi has been confirmed the Jam of Nawanagar.

A Legislative Council is to be established in Mysore, in addition to the Representative Assembly already existing.

INDIA: FRONTIER.—The land trade across the Indian Frontiers for the six months April to September, 1906, shows a satisfactory expansion westward. The exports and imports between Afghanistan and the North-West Frontier Province have declined by nearly 4 lakhs, whilst the trade with Southern and Eastern Afghanistan via Beloochistan has risen in value from about 32 lakhs to nearly 58 lakhs. There has been a steady increase in trade with Dir, Swat, and Bajour. With Tibet there has been a decrease of Rs. 30,000 on the Bengal side, but in the United Provinces there was a rise of Rs. 1,65,000. The trade of Burma showed a great increase, and also that of the Southern Shan States. The value of the whole trade on every part of the Indian frontiers was 763 lakhs, or an increase of 10 per cent.

The Report on the administration of the Chin Hills for the year 1905-1906 shows that the frontier districts on that side, though not quite in a settled state, are at peace. There has been some trouble in the south-east corner, where the continual feuds among the unadministered tribes exist. The recent expedition to Wellaung to exact reparation for the murder of certain villagers was successful, and resulted in the establishment of friendly relations with the tribes in the neighbourhood.

A band of Zakka-khel Afridis appeared in December last at Badabher, south of Peshawar, and captured several persons, including two sepoy of the Border Police. Raiders also looted a police post at Pubbi, between Peshawar and Nowshera. The Government is at present disinclined to take action, but unless a change speedily occurs punishment may become necessary.

AFGHANISTAN.—The King has appointed His Majesty Siraj-ul-Millat-wad-din Amir Habibullah Khan, G.C.M.G.,

Ameer of Afghanistan, to be an Honorary Member of the Civil Division of the First Class, or Knight Grand Cross, of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath.

ABYSSINIA.—The agreement for maintaining the integrity of Abyssinia has been signed by the British, French, and Italian Governments.

CEYLON.—Mr. Hugh Charles Clifford, C.M.G., Colonial Secretary of Trinidad, has been appointed Colonial Secretary of Ceylon, and Theodore Barcroft Lewis Moonmalle an unofficial member of the Legislative Council.

The tea cess is to be abolished from December 31, 1908.

Rubber plantations in Ceylon cover 115,000 acres. The industry is flourishing.

The new bridge over the Nilganga at Matara was opened for traffic on December 10 last.

The gross receipts of the Ceylon railways for 1905 amounted to Rs. 9,690,653, an increase of Rs. 799,067. The net earnings amounted to Rs. 2,592,175, an increase of Rs. 589,374 over last year.

Colombo is to be provided with an observatory, and Rs. 22,000 has been voted for that purpose in this year's estimates.

SIAM.—Mr. W. J. Archer, C.M.G., formerly His Majesty's Consul and Judge at Bangkok, has succeeded Mr. Frederick Verney, M.P., as Councillor of the Siamese Legation in London.

A large fire occurred at Bangkok on January 7 in the Chinese trading quarter. The damage is estimated at 10,000,000 ticals (about £750,000).

PERSIA.—Muzaffer-od-Din, the Shah of Persia, having died on January 8, 1907, Mohomed Ali Mirza, his eldest son, was proclaimed Shah, and was crowned on January 19 in Teheran. The King sent a message congratulating him on his accession. See a memoir of the late Shah in our present issue.

The new Constitution was signed on December 30.

The Constitution included the establishment of a partly elective Senate and financial control by the Lower House. A separate document was signed by the present Shah, promising that he would not dissolve the existing Parliament for two years.

A memorial service was held in the Mosque attached to the Oriental Institute, Woking, England, on January 18, and was attended by members of the Persian and Turkish Embassies in London.

The Shah has abolished the tax of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on Government salaries, which was introduced by the Belgian officials in 1904. The price of bread has been reduced by one-sixth.

The second son of the present Shah has been appointed heir-apparent.

The concession for a National Bank has been signed with a capital of 15,000,000 tomans (£2,631,000). Foreigners are excluded from participation in the enterprise. It has been agreed that the bank advance to the Government 2,000,000 tomans (£351,000). It will take charge of all Government receipts, charging 1 per cent. commission on current account, 9 per cent. for debit, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for credit balances. Two hundred thousand tomans (£35,100) out of the proceeds of the customs of the Persian Gulf will be paid yearly into the bank as security for payment of loan and interest. The charter is now in force, but will be cancelled if the total sum is not paid.

TURKEY IN ASIA.—In consequence of the energetic representations of the Persian Ambassador against the Turkish occupation of Mergovar and Bend, in Persian territory, the troops were withdrawn from these places.

CHINA.—The total maritime customs collection for 1906 amounted to about £6,000,000, the highest amount ever received.

An imperial edict issued on February 7 ratifies the agreement for the construction of the Canton-Kau-lung Railway, which was signed on November 10 last. China undertakes

to carry out with British capital and British engineers this important undertaking, for which a concession was given originally in 1898. It is expected that in three years it will be completed.

The famine in North Ngan-whei, the east of Ho-nan, and the north of Kiang-su, which is estimated to cover an area of 60,000 square miles, and to which a reference was made in our last issue, is worse than it has been for forty years. It is estimated that 4 millions are starving. An edict has been issued temporarily abolishing the land tax in Shan-tiang, as the people are unable to pay it on account of the famine. One of the largest relief camps—that at Tsing-kiang-pu—has had to be disbanded owing to an epidemic of small-pox.

Donations from America and England have carried the famine relief fund up to 330,000 taels (£49,500). Several missionaries have proceeded to the area of distress to assist in the distribution, and relief works have been opened. The distress is still acute.

The second instalment of the Tibetan indemnity, 8½ lakhs of rupees (£55,550), has been paid. The third and last instalment is due in January next.

MANCHURIA.—Russia decided to evacuate Manchuria. The evacuation began on January 31 by the departure of a section of the 65th Regiment, and on March 1 the Russian garrison at Tsitsihar, occupied since 1901, was also evacuated.

The following four places have been opened by China, by agreement with Russia, as places of international residence and trade: Chang-shun (otherwise known as Kwang-cheng-tsze), the most important trade centre in Manchuria; Kirin, the capital of the province of the same name; Kharbin, the main centre of Russian activity in Manchuria, the first station of the railway on the Chinese side of the Russian western frontier. The opening is in fulfilment of Article I. of the additional agreement between China and Japan relating to Manchuria.

JAPAN.—Japan's foreign trade in 1906 amounted to

£84,000,000. Exports showed an excess of £400,000 for the first time in ten years.

The Emperor has conferred upon Professor A. Vambéry the Order of the Sacred Treasure, second class, in recognition of his services to Japan during the late war.

AFRICA : TRANSVAAL.—The King has, by Letters Patent, dated December 6, 1906, established Responsible Government in the Transvaal. The Earl of Selborne, P.C., G.C.M.G., has been appointed Commander-in-Chief.

The election to the first assembly under the new Constitution took place throughout the Transvaal on February 20, resulting in the return as follows: Het Volk, 37; Progressives, 21; Nationalists, 6; Labour Party, 3; Independents, 2. The following have been appointed by Lord Selborne as members of the Upper House; W. Grant, Max Langemann, W. A. Tartin, T. A. R. Purchas, A. Rait, A. G. Robertson, P. D. A. Roux, J. Roy, J. Vandermerwe, A. D. W. Wolmarans, H. Crawford, L. Curtis, Colonel W. Dalrymple, G. L. W. Dutoit, and R. Feltham.

The Cabinet has been formed as follows: General Botha, Premier and Minister of Agriculture; Mr. Smuts, Colonial Secretary; Mr. Jacob de Villiers, Attorney-General and Minister of Mines; Mr. Hull, Treasurer; Mr. Rissick, Minister of Lands and Native Affairs; and Mr. Edward Solomon, Minister of Public Works.

The Het Volk made a protest to Lord Selborne against the nominations to the Upper House. This was communicated to Lord Elgin, but Lord Selborne held out no expectation that the nominations will be revised.

The trial of Fischer, *alias* Piet Ferreira, and his four followers who raided Cape Colony and killed a trooper, as mentioned in our last issue, opened at Kimberley on February 18, when sentence of death was passed on all.

NATAL COLONY.—The chief Sibindi, who assisted the authorities in quelling the Zulu rebellion last year, has been appointed chief over portions of the tribes belonging to the

ex-chiefs Gobizembe, Messini, Ndhlovukatimini, Matywili, Ndhlovukadangazela, and Ngqokwana.

CAPE COLONY.—The term of office of Sir W. Heley-Hutchinson as Governor of the Cape of Good Hope has been extended from March of this year until August, 1909.

The Transkeian Native Council has resolved to contribute £10,000, in five instalments, for the establishment of an Inter-State Native College, and also, subject to the Government's approval, to give a free site for the College. This contribution brings the sum guaranteed for this object to nearly £60,000.

The Cape Government has promulgated a scheme of State advance to farmers for agricultural improvement. A Bill giving effect to the scheme will be proposed in the Legislature next session.

ORANGE RIVER COLONY.—The new form of Government for this colony cannot be published until some time this month (April).

The King, accompanied by the Queen, opened the South African Exhibition in London on February 23. There were present, among others, the Prince and Princess of Wales, Lord Elgin, Secretary for the Colonies, and Sir T. Fuller. The King, in reply to an address, said that it was his strong and earnest desire that South Africa should advance in prosperity, and viewed with confidence the future of that great, interesting, and important part of his dominions. The King conferred upon Captain Bam, the chairman of the executive committee, the Order of Knighthood.

AFRICA: NIGERIA.—Lieutenant-Colonel Sir E. P. Girouard, R.E., has been appointed High Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief of the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria, in succession to Sir F. Lugard, resigned.

The High Commissioner of Northern Nigeria arrived in Sokoto on January 9, and presented the Sultan of Sokoto with the Insignia of a Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, which the Sultan accepted with

assurance of loyalty. One result of the ceremony has been the reconciliation of the Sultan of Sokoto and the Emir of Argunga, who have hitherto been hostile. They took oath on the Koran that the feud which had existed should henceforth cease.

GOLD COAST.—The cocoa crop of the Gold Coast for 1906 reached the high figure of 26,079,300 pounds.

AUSTRALIA : COMMONWEALTH.—Mr. T. Langdon has been appointed Chief Secretary and Minister of Labour for Victoria in succession to Sir Samuel Gillott.

A rearrangement was made in the Federal Ministry by which Mr. Ewing became Minister of Defence, and Senator Keating Minister for Home Affairs.

A most successful exhibition of Australian products was opened at Melbourne on January 16 by the Governor-General, Lord Northcote.

The net customs and excise revenue of Australia for last year, excluding collections made under special Western Australian tariff, amounted to £9,250,246, an increase of £601,329 over that of 1905. The year's yield of cereals increased from 75 to 90 million bushels. The revenue for the six months ending December 31 last was £6,406,796, an increase of £481,646 as compared with the corresponding period of 1905. The total expenditure for the six months was £2,531,686, an increase of £318,318 as compared with the last six months of 1905, of which the sugar bounties amounted to £121,000. The total amount returned by the Commonwealth to the State Governments was £3,875,106, an increase of £163,327 as compared with the sum returned for the second half of 1905.

According to official estimates for 1906, there were 12,000,000 acres under the plough in the Commonwealth; the grain yield was over 100,000,000 bushels; the wool yield was worth £20,000,000; agricultural products £21,000,000; mineral products £30,000,000; the oversea trade £113,000,000; and the inter-State trade £80,000,000, of which £24,000,000 of the increase since 1900 was the

result of federation. The total value of Australia's trade in 1906, including imports and exports of gold, amounted to £114,597,023, being an increase of nearly £19,500,000.

The Commonwealth defence authorities propose to increase the number of the cadets from 23,000 to 150,000.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—The revenue for the half-year ending December last was £6,563,870, as compared with £5,717,475 during the corresponding period of 1905. The population has doubled in the last quarter of a century, and now stands at 1,530,940, as against 750,000. Agricultural returns show that ten years ago, in March, 1896, the total area under crop in the State was 1,348,600 acres. In the same month of the past year it was 2,838,081 acres. Wheat cultivation showed great advance, the acreage under this head being 1,939,447, with a crop of 20,737,200 bushels. The number of sheep in the State amounted to 45,000,000. The mineral production has also shown great advancement. Owing to the unexampled prosperity, Mr. Carruthers, the Premier and Colonial Treasurer, in addition to the reduction in charges already made, has decided to make material remissions in taxation next year. He has also materially enlarged the immigration regulations. Every effort is being made to encourage the proper type of rural settlers, and with this view the State Government has decided to contribute £6 a head towards the passage-money to agriculturists and domestics, and £4 ahead towards the fares of other desirable emigrants.

The revenue of the New South Wales railways for the quarter ending December last amounted to £1,319,322, as compared with £1,179,752 for the corresponding period of 1905. The expenditure amounted to £652,031, as compared with £629,317.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—In his supplementary Budget speech the Treasurer anticipated at least an increase of £52,000 revenue this year, the greater portion of which is to be devoted to railway improvement and new public works.

NEW ZEALAND.—A reciprocal tariff has been arranged

between New Zealand and South Africa, with the view of encouraging the interchange of the products of the two countries.

The revenue for the nine months ending December last showed an increase of £612,418. Every item, except that of territorial revenue, showed an increase, the customs increase being £219,000; railways, £180,000; stamps, £139,000; and land tax, £56,000. The expenditure for the same period was £5,569,626, as against £5,245,991 for the corresponding period of 1905, being an increase of £323,635. The principal items of increase of expenditure were: Education, £102,000; railways, £112,000; International Exhibition, £55,000; old age pensions, £45,000; and public buildings, £20,000. During the year the colony has renewed £2,000,000 debentures and raised fresh loans of over £2,000,000 without going to the London market.

QUEENSLAND.—The Treasury returns show a surplus revenue for the last six months of 1906 of £136,000, as compared with £60,000 in the same period of 1905.

The Prime Minister of the Commonwealth has given permission for the importation of 1,000 Italians into the North Queensland sugar plantations, to take the place of the Kanakas, who are being repatriated.

A hurricane devastated Cooktown on January 18 and 19. Many buildings were ruined. There was no loss of life.

JAMAICA.—A disastrous earthquake took place in Jamaica on January 14. The city of Kingston was practically destroyed. Afterwards a fire broke out which destroyed almost all the public buildings and private dwelling-houses. There was a great loss of life. Much sympathy and assistance have been rendered by England, British colonies, India, United States of America, and the Continent of Europe. The damage is estimated at £2,000,000. Relief funds have been opened in London, India, the Colonies, and elsewhere.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The returns for the year ending December 31 last show the largest revenue in the history

of the colony. For the last six months the revenue was \$43,000 (£8,600) more than for the same period in 1905.

The Premier has proposed the adoption of a contract between the Colonial Cabinet and Messrs. Ochs Brothers, of London and Paris, for a short Atlantic steamship route via Newfoundland. The scheme promises a weekly service of steamers between Killery, on the west coast of Ireland, and Green Bay, on the east coast of Newfoundland, followed by a two hours' railway journey across Newfoundland, and thence to Gaspé, Quebec province, by steamer. It is expected that there will be a saving of thirty-two hours over any other Atlantic route. The Colony is prepared to pay an annual subsidy of \$75,000 (£15,000) for twenty-five years.

CANADA.—The total revenue of the Dominion for the seven months ending January was \$50,658,683 (£10,131,737), an increase of \$6,403,875 (£1,280,775) over the corresponding period of the previous year.

The aggregate trade of Canada for the six months ended December last shows an increase of over £8,600,000 as compared with the same period of 1905. The customs revenue for the same period shows an increase of £736,395.

On the opening of the session of the Legislature of Manitoba, the Lieutenant-Governor referred to the past year as the most important in the history of the province, owing to the abundant harvest returns and the expansion of general business. The crop of 1906 was the largest in the history of the province. The grain crop stored by the farmers was 130,000,000 bushels. The expenditure on farm buildings in the year was \$4,510,085 (£902,017), an increase of £100,000. The Government has taken steps to construct in the province during the coming summer a thousand miles of telephones.

Mr. L. J. Tweedie, Premier of New Brunswick, has been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the province in succession to the late Mr. Snowball.

The Colonial Conference will be held on April 15 in London. It is expected that India will be represented by the Secretary of State, or by some one deputed by him.

Obituary.—The deaths have been recorded during the past quarter of the following:—John Edward Tanner, M.I.C.E., C.M.G. (Sevastopol, Indian Mutiny, Assistant Engineer to the Scinde and Punjab Railways, etc.);—Charles Irvine, Major-General and Honorary Colonel of the 27th Punjabis (Gwalior campaign 1843, Sutlej campaign 1845-46, Mooltan 1848, Kushai expedition 1865);—Charles John Henry Smith, Colonel Royal Engineers (late Madras);—Deputy Surgeon-General John Anderson Cox, late H.M. Madras Army;—Francis George Oliver, Superintending Physician S.I. Railway, Trichinopoly;—Captain James Stevenson, late of the Honourable East India Company's service;—Major Christopher Sullivan, Madras Staff Corps;—Surgeon-General Richard Chapman Lofthouse (Crimea, Sepoy Revolt 1858-59);—Edward Newnham Atherton, late Ceylon Civil Service;—General Lord Alexander Russell, G.C.B., Colonel-Commandant 1st Battalion Rifle Brigade;—Sir Sayed Hassan Ali Khan Bahadur, Nawab of Murshidabad, G.C.I.E.;—Sir James Fergusson, a victim of the Jamaica earthquake (Crimea war 1854-55, served as Governor of South Australia and Bombay);—Claude Vincent, some time Under-Secretary to the Government of India, P.W. Department;—George Lever Weidemann, late I.C.S.;—Captain Henry Singleton Pennell, V.C. (Tireh Expeditionary Force 1897, Boer war);—Major R. G. Handcock, late Bengal Staff Corps (served through Afghan war 1879);—G. W. Stogdon, late I.C.S.;—Lieutenant John Henry Maxwell Craigie, of Mooltan, India;—Townley Lowtherstone Hume Macartney-Filgate, some time Military Secretary to the Governor of Bombay, for thirty-one years Inspector-General of Registration, and for fourteen years Inspector-General of Gaols and Registration, Bombay Presidency;—Engineer Rear-Admiral W. H. Davis (Eastern Soudan, Suakin 1884-85, Burma Annexation war 1885-87);—Lieutenant-Colonel William Joseph Gorman, Deputy Commissary-General under Ceylon Government 1867 (Burmese war 1853-55);—Lieutenant-General George Edward Baynes (Siege of Delhi 1857);—Major M. O. I. C. Drury, R.A.M.C. (Soudan expedition 1885, Burmese war 1886-87, South Africa war);—Lionel Robert Ashburner, C.S.I., late of the Bombay Civil Service;—Major Harold Joseph Sherwood, Royal Engineers (Chin Lushai operations 1889-90, Tochi Valley Field Force 1897-98, Tireh expedition, Waziristan 1901-1902);—William Smith Betts, for thirty-four years agent to the South Indian Railway;—William London, late Administrator-General, Bombay;—William Waterfield, F.L.S., J.P., late Bengal Civil Service;—Colonel James Montague Taylor Badgley, late Royal Engineers (Afghan war 1878-80, Burmese expedition 1885-86);—Major-General Rickards (Mutiny);—General William Henry Watts, late Madras Army (Burmese war 1852-53);—Lieutenant-Colonel John Yate Holland (Burmese war 1852, China war 1860, Taeping 1862);—William Jacob, late Deputy-Conservator of Forests, Central Provinces, India;—John Hooper, C.S.I., late I.C.S.;—Colonel Robert Henry Curzon Drury-Lowe (Kaffir war 1851-53, Mutiny, Siege of Delhi, China war 1860-61);—Admiral Thomas Barnardiston (Burmese war, Crimea war, Abyssinian expedition 1868);—Colonel E. F. H. McSwiney, C.B., D.S.O., in command of the Umballa Cavalry Brigade (Afghan war 1880, Burmese expedition

1886-88, Waziristan expedition 1897-98, Tيره expedition, and the China operation 1900);—Nawab Sir Mohammad Akram Khan, K.C.S.I., Nawab of Amb;—Francis Robert Shaw Wyllie, G.C.B., late Bombay Civil Service;—General Sir Archibald Allison, Bart., G.C.B., LL.D. (Sevastopol, Mutiny, Lucknow, Ashantee, Alexandria, Tel-el-Kebir);—Major Herbert Cunningham, U.S.I., Madras Army;—Major John Mackenzie Lyle (Sutlej campaign 1845-46);—William John Greer, late P.W.D., Bengal, for over twenty-one years Executive Engineer of Public Works Department;—Captain Edward Hugh Franklyn Finch;—Nawab Zaffer Jung Bahadur, Minister of the Military Department of the Nizam of Haiderabad's Government, and premier Noble of the State;—Sir Allen Bayard Johnson, K.C.B. (Burma 1853, Relief of Pegu, Sepoy revolt 1857-58);—Major-General J. Ramsey Sladen, J.P., D.L., entered Bengal Artillery 1842 (Gwalior campaign 1843-44, Scinde 1845, Punjab campaign 1848-49, Punjab frontiers);—H. H. Nawab Mohomed Bahawal Khan, Nawab of Bahawalpur;—Surgeon-Major William Campbell Seaman (Crimea, Sevastopol, Sepoy revolt, Rotah, and the subsequent campaigns in Central India);—Major-General Robert Andrew Cole, late Madras Staff Corps;—Major-General Eustace Hill, late Madras Staff Corps (Indian Mutiny campaign 1858-59);—His Highness Mir Hassan Ali Khan, son of ex-Mir Nasir Mahmud Khan, the last ruling Mir, from whom the British conquered Sind;—Honourable Sardar Muhammad Yakub Khan, C.I.E.;—Edward Muspratt, late Bengal Police;—Robert Robertson, of the National Bank of India, Bombay;—General James Michael, C.S.I., Assistant Chief Engineer during the Mutiny;—Herbert Mills Birdwood, C.S.I., LL.D., M.A., late Bombay Civil Service;—W. Kemble, late Bengal Civil Service;—Major John Hatfield Brooks, entered Bengal Army 1843 (Maharajpur 1843, Sutlej campaign 1846, Punjab 1848-49);—Major-General Edward Smalley, late India Staff Corps;—Major-General R. A. Cole, late Madras Staff Corps;—Surgeon-General John McNeale Donnelly, K.C.B., of the Indian Army;—Colonel A. E. Burn, late Indian Army;—Lieutenant Cecil Francis Montgomery, of the Dragoon Guards, Lucknow;—Harry Prendergast Wyllie, late Deputy-Commissioner of Angul Orissa;—Hodgson Pratt, formerly of the Bengal Civil Service;—Major-General Barnett Ford, late 12th Madras N.I. and Madras Staff Corps;—Lieutenant-Colonel G. M. McKee, of the Indian Medical Service (Burmese expedition 1885-87);—Lieutenant-Colonel R. S. Alexander (Burmese expedition 1886-88).

March 12, 1907.





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